

TORCH

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Do the Right Thing

By TERRY WALSH

DAVID Dinkins, an old-fashioned Black Democrat schooled in "go along, get along" urban machine politics, won the New York City Democratic Party primary September 12. And so much is being made here these days of the better feeling in the city: the chances for racial unity, the pride Black people feel because a Black man is on the verge on being elected mayor. Now I am definitely for Black pride and the city can certainly use some better vibes. I'm for multiracial organizing. And even though I don't vote, I'm glad Koch isn't around anymore. But the stuff about better feelings right now scares me. Because there are some things that are very definitely very wrong—and having David Dinkins elected Mayor won't change them at all. For one—Yusuf Hawkins is dead.

Yusuf Hawkins was a young Black man who was killed because he was in a

white neighborhood. He went there with some friends to look at a car that was advertised in an ad newspaper, and ran into a bunch of white youth who were waiting with baseball bats and guns for Black youth who might be coming to a birthday party. The whites were on the offensive because a young white woman, Gina Feliciano, who had previously been dating one of their friends, was now going out with Black and Latin men, and had invited Black and Latin friends to her 18th birthday party. Hearing of the white youths' mobilization, Feliciano cancelled her party, called her friends and warned them to stay out of the neighborhood (Bensonhurst). When Hawkins and his friends came into the area, the white men chased them with baseball bats, and one of them, Joseph Fama, shot Hawkins.

Once again, the right of Black people to simply walk the streets of New York City was being questioned. In December 1986, Michael Griffith was murdered for

having his car break down in the white neighborhood of Howard Beach. Before that, Willie Turks was murdered for stopping for a bagel in Gravesend, just west of Bensonhurst.

The Howard Beach murder in particular had created a strong and visible fightback. At that time, almost immedi-



Yusuf Hawkins' parents.

ately, the union of hospital workers, Local 1199, printed up thousands of copies of a flyer for a demonstration seven days after the murder. "Racist Violence Must Stop" it said. And it gave subway directions, driving directions and instructions for a car caravan from Manhattan to Howard Beach (in Queens). Over 2,000 people marched in the first of many protests.

The strong, immediate response to that murder paved the way both for convictions in the legal cases and a greater feeling of pride and power in the Black community. It seemed to be a partial turn-around after a series of unpunished police murders of Black people, notably Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpers.

Liberal hucksters don't stir

But with the murder of Hawkins, there was no repeat of the mobilizations
(Continued on page 10)

By MIKE EVERETT

AS racist South Africa moved toward national elections (which excluded the Black majority) on September 6, the liberation struggle, now organized as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), launched a Defiance Campaign. The campaign was named after a 1952 African National Congress (ANC)-led civil disobedience struggle. Throughout August people desegregated hospitals, schools and beaches. On August 20 the United Democratic Front (UDF)—outlawed since February '88—unbanned itself, holding rallies in its own name around the country. Back in February of this year, 900 political prisoners launched a hunger strike demanding their release. Due to international political factors, the regime released them under severe restriction and threat of rejailling. These people came forward at these rallies, defying the restrictions. On election day itself, three million workers stayed off their jobs, supporting a call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and other
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SECCION
EN ESPAÑOL

NEWS from SOVIET BLOC

See page 6

TORCH

Final
issue!

Founding
Conference
for an

Anarchist
Newspaper
Set

RSL
Convention
scheduled

By WILLIAM FALK

THE ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER project took several steps forward this summer. In July, in advance of the 1989 Anarchist Gathering in San Francisco, a 16-page tabloid, *Writing on the Wall*, was issued by Chicago supporters of the project. The paper, while not the best looking thing to come along, had a good number of excellent articles. These included a piece from Boston on the fight for reproductive rights, a report on a struggle for Native American treaty rights in Wisconsin, impressions of the 20th Stonewall Riot anniversary weekend in New York City, briefs on the Eastern Airlines and Pittston strikes, a survey of the state of the environment, and an article on anti-racist action. The paper also included a history of the anarchist newspaper project and a draft statement of unity for the proposed publication. The paper was a second trial effort, part of the process of working cooperatively and discovering what it takes to produce a paper together. For a copy write to *Writing on the Wall*, c/o

Theatre Oobleck, 3829 N. Broadway, Chicago, IL 60613, or to me at Box 1288 GPO, New York, NY 10116. For a copy of the first trial effort, *RAGE!*, issued for the anarchist contingent at the Pentagon Blockade, October 1988, write to me.

An additional step toward the project was taken at the Gathering itself, where supporters met to set the date for a founding conference for a monthly anarchist newspaper. The meeting is set for Thanksgiving weekend in the Chicago area. Three issues of a discussion bulletin are being published to further discussion before and during the conference. The meeting is only open to those people who favor a newspaper at this time; the issue of whether this is a good idea or not is not on the agenda.

Judging from the discussions so far, the newspaper will not attempt to be, or wish to be, an all-inclusive newspaper of the anarchist movement. Rather it will represent a trend, though not a narrow one, within today's anarchist and anti-authoritarian movement.

Besides people currently supporting the RSL, among the supporters of the newspaper project are individuals and

groups that may be familiar to regular readers of the *Torch/La Antorcha*. For example, one of the prime movers of the project is the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League of Minneapolis, and a document produced through discussions among RABL members is reprinted on page 11-15 of this issue of the *Torch*. A second document, also by Ned Day of RABL (though not discussed before publication by that group), appears in this month's *La Antorcha*.

Also among the project's supporters are anarchists in Oakland, California, whose reports on pro-choice, anti-racist and anti-militarist actions appeared prominently in the March 15 and May 15 issues of the *Torch/La Antorcha*, and who edited a page in the June issue about the recent Berkeley riot. A note from Bob McGlynn in this month's "News from Soviet Bloc" section indicates his hope to continue a similar feature in the forthcoming newspaper.

This issue, published October 1, 1989, is scheduled to be the last issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha*. It is whole number 174 since our first issue in September 1973. The Revolutionary Socialist League will be holding its Eighth National Convention in Chicago over the Thanksgiving weekend in advance of the anarchist newspaper founding conference also taking place in Chicago at that time. The RSL convention will discuss and vote on a motion that calls for

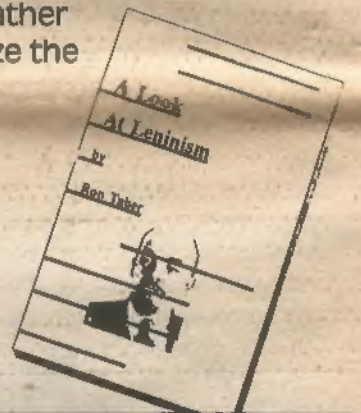
the RSL to disband and encourages RSL members and supporters to participate in the anarchist newspaper project as individuals.

In an abbreviated way, we will also be discussing the theoretical and practical reasons for our evolution into anarchists, libertarian socialists, and anti-authoritarians. Though the RSL's Seventh Convention, in 1986, included a critique of Leninism and a discussion of our growing affinity to anarchist thought, this will be our first convention since the organization made an official break with Leninism and a significant number of members ceased to consider themselves Marxists. Those of us who identify most strongly with the anarchist movement, including myself, will be arguing why giving vigorous support to the newspaper project is the best way for individuals to ensure that what have been the best of the underlying values and vision of the RSL will continue as a force in the political arena.

I hope that all subscribers and regular readers of the *Torch/La Antorcha* will read and support the new paper. Current subscribers of the *Torch/La Antorcha* will receive the first issue of the new periodical, which I expect will appear early in 1990, so that they can judge for themselves. Anyone else who wants to make sure s/he receives the new paper should write to me at the Box 1288 address. □

A Look at Leninism, the *Torch's* series on the ideology and practice of Bolshevism under V.I. Lenin, has been published in book form (112 pp.). Written by Ron Taber, a former Leninist and Trotskyist who is thoroughly familiar with Lenin's writings and the history of the Russian Revolution, the book is written to convince the unconvinced rather than reassure those who already recognize the authoritarian character of Bolshevism.

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LETTER

Otherwise, good work

Revolutionary Socialist League:

Regarding your article "The Left Greens & Revolutionary Anarchism" in the July-September 1989 issue of the *Torch*; there is one point you had nearly backward. In West Germany's Green Party the "fundis" and the "red greens" are not, as you imply, the same thing. In fact, they are actually mutually exclusive. "Red greens" such as West Berlin's Alternative Liste are actually much closer to the "realos" (realists—the tendency considered to be in opposition to the "fundis"). The "realos" favor an emphasis on electoral politics and coalition with the centrist Social Democratic party. More radical "red greens" are against the liberal politics of

the "realos," but they are also against the profound rejection of industrialism and centrism favored by the "fundis." At their worst, "red greens" are merely traditional leftists with ecology tacked on to the agenda for reasons of political expediency. The "fundis," on the other hand, represent a break with both the right and the left—they see their enemy not as capitalism *per se*, but the over-sized technological-industrial-bureaucratic system which pervades both the Western capitalist powers and the centralized state-socialist monolith in the East.

Otherwise, good work.

Yours,
Bill Weinberg
Brooklyn, NY

"This impressive and original book by two activist scholars gives a thorough account of the Trotskyist movement and the broader context of its activities in the United States, Europe, and Latin America since the 1920's. It is written not as dry history but with an insiders' flair for bringing issues to life. Taber and Hobson reexamine the history of the left, not from a neoconservative standpoint but from a radical, democratic point of view. Their book offers a reassertion of freedom as the goal of socialism, as against a socialism which is statist and repressive. This acute analysis should have a strong and useful impact on the American Left, requiring a reconsideration of some fundamental beliefs. Those beliefs rooted in myths about non-American socialism will have to be reconsidered in the light of their demolition by this work."

Jesse Lemisch, Professor of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York; author, *On Active Service in War and Peace*.

Trotskyism and the Dilemma of Socialism

Christopher Z. Hobson and Ronald D. Taber

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Torch Staff: William Falk, Chris Hudson, Bruce Kala, Ron Taber.
Spanish Translation: Desiderio Bolivar, Ron Taber, Jose Zapata

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FIGHT THE POWER!

Black college students fought back over the Labor Day weekend against a concerted plan by Virginia Beach, Virginia, officials and businessmen to disrupt and ruin the recently founded tradition of an end-of-summer party in the resort town. The gathering, called Greekfest, was first held in 1985, organized by Black fraternities and sororities from the historically Black colleges in the Tidewater region. It has grown bigger each year, including Black college students, both fraternity/sorority members and not, from many East Coast schools.

The city government and chamber of commerce began together in the fall of 1988, just after Greekfest '88, to work out an offensive against Greekfest '89 with the hope that it would be abandoned or move to another town. In particular, they traveled to Florida to study the moves made by officials in Fort Lauderdale to end a tradition of white college students gathering there over Easter. They also studied and discussed, but rejected, the "soft" counter-insurgency techniques used by Daytona Beach: Dozens of corporate sponsors are brought in to set up hospitality booths, entertainment, silly contests and the like; the "ownership" and control of the gathering by these companies is enforced with special laws and shows of force from police.

In Virginia Beach officials blocked any Greekfest use whatsoever of the Pavilion, a 7,500 seat meeting hall where music concerts had been held previously. They rejected an attempt by Coca-Cola to set up a booth on the beach a la Daytona. They froze the one Black city council member out of the planning. They ignored an October 1988 letter from the Hampton Roads Urban League with concrete suggestions for integrating the Greek organizations into crowd control efforts for the weekend and never met with the local NAACP which tried repeatedly to get involved in the planning. The week before the event, they announced that extra police patrols would be on duty and that the state police and National Guard



Paid criminals, aided by a dog, subdue a youth during a sweep of Virginia Beach's Atlantic Avenue.

had been asked to assist.

In other words, the white racist city government was spoiling for a fight, had been preparing for a year, and were only surprised by the vigor of the fightback.

About 100,000 people showed up for the Greekfest '89. At about 2:00 am Sunday morning, after hours of petty harassment, such as issuing tickets to men for not having a shirt on, police attempted to force the crowds off the streets. Sometimes shouting "Fight the Power," students responded by throwing rocks, eggs and glass bottles at the cops, breaking windows and looting stores. On Sunday night, the scenario was repeated, with gas-masked cops sweeping the streets and students trashing and looting the stores. One person was shot while jogging on a quiet beach at 3:30 am Monday morning.

"There were just too many people, just too many people," Mayor Meyere Oberndorf said at a news conference after the first night of skirmishes. In other words, too many young Black people. She has repeatedly praised the cops for not shooting anyone and not killing anyone, as if that could only be expected. Imagine if the cops in Florida shot or killed a white college student! Playing the script out, officials and merchant leaders are denouncing the violence and calling for the end of Greekfest. But so far the signs are that the publicity from the students' refusal to take the racist repression lying down has put enough heat on officials that, against their will and perhaps against their nature, they will be forced to accommodate Greekfest '90 in a civilized way.

—WF

Protest Racist Gay Bar

CHICAGO — ACTUP/Chicago organized a demonstration on August 19 fighting against racism within the gay community. Club LaRay, a Black gay bar in Newtown, was closed on the initiative of 44th Ward Alderman Bernie Hanson because of alleged drug trafficking and prostitution in the bar. There were white gays who were happy about the shutdown of Club LaRay because there were "too many Blacks" on

Halsted Street.

About 100 people turned out on August 19. The action was initiated by ACTUP/Chicago; Black and White Men Together (BWMT) co-sponsored the event, but only brought out about eight people. The demonstrators lined up in front of Club LaRay, and then marched down the street, stopping at the corner of Halsted and Roscoe, near three gay bars where some speeches were given. Then the march continued to another gay bar, Christopher St., which is noted for carding Black patrons. Blacks are often asked to show ID's when they are alone, or with other Blacks. The bouncer at Christopher St. stood in front of the door, probably trying to keep any demonstrators from entering. Here there were more speeches, addressing racism in the bars and in the gay rights movement, as well as the lack of concern by AIDS organizations for services, housing, and funding for people of color who are affected by AIDS. The cops showed, and told the demonstrators to stay on the sidewalk.

It was great that ACTUP/Chicago launched the demonstration against racism in the gay community, because it was needed. There were some members who thought ACTUP should only concentrate narrowly on fighting AIDS, not recognizing the connection between AIDS and racial and sexual oppression in society. No one else was interested in taking the big step to fight racism within the gay community. Although the demonstrators were predominantly white, it was a good to see people out there who were willing to protest against gay racism.

—Darrell Gordon

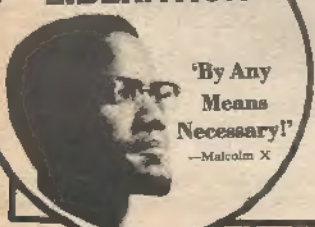


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By ALEXIS ZEIGLER

Alexis Zeigler is a member of Twin Oaks Community in Virginia

WOMEN'S roles have changed greatly in recent American history. Common wisdom has it that these new roles are the result of changes in human consciousness. Was it a change in human consciousness or some other factor that caused our society to look differently at what is appropriate for women to do and be?

A popular explanation for the changes in women's roles credits the feminist movement, which in turn is thought to have grown out of the civil rights movement. According to this idea, women "learned to respect themselves and know their own strength" but "were simultaneously thrust into subservient roles, as secretary, sex object, housekeeper, and "dumb chick." There are limitations to this explanation. First, although the leaders of the feminist movement may have been inspired by the civil rights movement, this does not explain why they suddenly found themselves leading thousands of women who had never participated in any movement. Second, women were liberating themselves from the housewife/mother role by taking jobs in unprecedented numbers in the early 1950s. This was long before the resurgence of the feminist movement. The third point applies to any liberation movement that is commonly attributed solely to changes in human consciousness. If the feminist revival of the late 1960s was a triumph of human will and consciousness, does this imply that women of earlier generations had less desire or will to be rid of repressive roles?

Supporters of the traditional family would have it that motherhood and housewifery are natural to women and the new roles are only recent aberrations. Historically, this simply isn't true. In Colonial America, there was no such thing as a housewife. The vast majority of people worked in agriculture. Production was not a "job," but was done in and around the home. The writings of the time make no distinction between men's and women's roles regarding work. There was a lot to be done both inside and outside of the house and everybody did it. Furthermore, children were not seen as a woman's responsibility. The only distinction of roles regarding childrearing in the writings of the time was that of "parent." Families were somewhat extended then as well. Other relatives helped out with domestic chores and childrearing, not just mom. The purpose here is not to romanticize as the situation was not at all one of equality. It is more to point out that the repression of housewifery is a relatively recent phenomenon.

It was the rise of industrialism that created the role of the housewife. In the shift from agricultural to industrial production, cities, factories, and, most important, jobs were created. With the creation of paid labor, production was split in two. Taking a job meant leaving home and receiving a paycheck. Domestic production involved taking care of the kids and doing such things as making clothes and preparing food. The patriarchy, being what it was, decided that jobs were for men and taking care of the house for women. The writings of the time are emphatic on this point. There was status and power in having a paid job. It would have been too much of a threat to the existing power structure for women to have jobs.

Concerning children and motherhood, there is in American culture a be-

Thoughts on Women's Liberation

lief known as "the procreative imperative." This is the belief that any self-respecting woman should not only have children but lots of them. It is interesting to note that in a power-centralized society, the power elites benefit a lot from surplus workers that keep wages down and make jobs a valued privilege. Also, because of our growth-oriented economy, American society becomes more powerful at the international level as a result of increasing numbers of producers and consumers.

The belief in the procreative imperative had ample representation in the writings of the early housewife era. This was partly in response to the fact that, despite these writings, birthrates were rapidly falling. In an agricultural setting, children cost little to raise and helped out with the work at a very early age. In industrial society, children cost a lot more to raise and may never contribute to their parents' livelihood. This is not to say that the decision to have children is a cold calculation for most people. But who's to say that the joy of watching one child grow up is any less than watching 12 grow? One of the highest correlative factors worldwide between life styles and decreased population growth is the cost/benefit ratio of having children as represented by women holding paid jobs.

With the growth of industrialism into this century, the need for increased consumption grew in importance to the development of the economy. It takes time to pick out, buy, carry, and store consumables. Who was perfect for the job but the housewife? Advertising began to aim specifically at the housewife. And with good reason. By 1929, women were responsible for the purchase of 80 percent of the goods consumed by the household. This is also when utilities, such as gas, water, and electricity were becoming widespread. This made the invention of a myriad of labor-saving devices for the home possible. The prob-

lem is that, according to studies done on the matter, these appliances did not save labor at all. Cleanliness standards were rising dramatically. And, as if this wasn't enough, there were plenty of make-work tips in women's magazines to keep housewives busy. All of these factors combined to make housewifery a full-time occupation.

Science even came to the aid of the patriarchal order. There were "scientific" explanations for why women were natural homemakers and mothers. There were, and still are, "scientific" explanations for the damages wrought on the human psyche by an endless career of cooking and cleaning with low status and no pay. These explanations, of course, point to flaws in the individual and ignore the social context.

Of the women who did have jobs in the age of housewifery, they were young and unmarried, widowed, or poor. The jobs they took were typically low status, low pay, dead end, low training, high turnover jobs. There were even federal and state laws prohibiting the hiring of married women.

There were temporary respites from this situation in times of war. During World War I, when manpower was needed for the business of destruction, womanpower was put to use for the business of business. After the war, women returned home, voluntarily or otherwise. Again in World War II, women were employed in large numbers. Rosie the Riveter was a hero of the times. After World War II, a lot of women returned home, but a lot didn't. By the early 1950s the percentage of married women holding paid jobs reached an all time high. This growth has continued to the present.

What had changed to cause women to take jobs in the 1950s? There certainly wasn't much in the way of feminist con-



sciousness-raising then. There was, however, an unprecedented surge in the inflation rate and a resulting rise in the cost of living. A second paycheck quickly became necessary for any family desiring to maintain a middle class standard of living.

The economy itself has changed significantly in the past 40 years. There has been a massive shift from employment in manufacturing industries to employment in goods and services industries. These new jobs are, by and large, low status and low pay jobs. They are perfect for the kind of employment patriarchal society has deemed appropriate for women.

The patriarchs of the past knew—as women know now—the paycheck is power. Women did not take jobs because the feminist movement became active, the feminist movement became active because women took jobs.

The purpose of this article is not to deride the victories of the women's movement. Feminist consciousness-raising has brought empowerment to a lot of people's lives. This in itself is no small victory. There are, however, in American culture as well as in every other culture, large scale economic factors that are very powerful in how they affect people's lives but that are poorly understood nonetheless. As the tide of the economy has shifted in favor of liberation, so it could shift away. So it will continue until human consciousness takes the place of a mindless and immoral economy in determining our social destiny. □



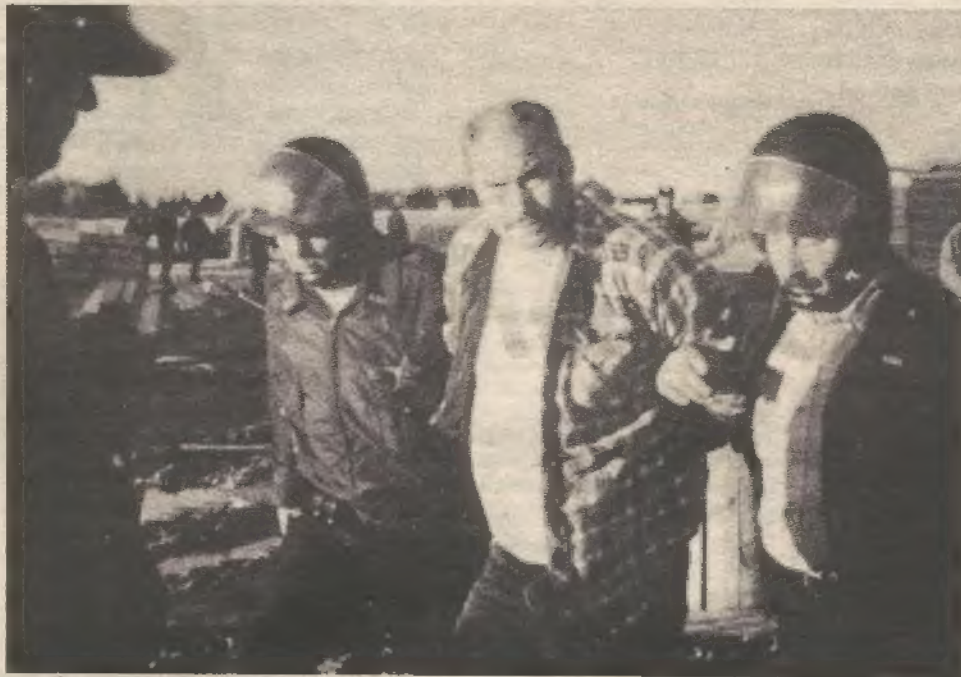
For U.S. Defiance Campaign

By MIKE EVERETT

AROUND the nation workers and unions are putting up considerable resistance to corporate and state attacks.

Throughout their five-month strike against Pittston Corp., coal miners have shown high levels of militancy and have received widespread solidarity from other workers. Support came not only from unionized miners, as during the nearly industry-wide wildcats in June, but also from workers in other unions, small business people, church activists and young people. Supporters gave financial aid and participated in pickets, demonstrations, civil disobedience, etc. Many travelled great distances to do so.

Since the trade union and left press has given intensive coverage to the origins of the strike, as well as facts and figures about the benefits and rights at stake, I won't go into these. Here are some recent happenings.



Striker in custody, International Falls, Minnesota.

On September 17, 98 miners occupied Pittston coal-preparation operations in Virginia, which has been operating on

scab labor. Over the next few days thousands of strikers and supporters gathered outside. On the 19th a federal judge

hit the United Mineworkers (UMWA) with another in a series of big fines. This one reached \$3.4 million. On September 20, the union had the sit-downers withdraw under threat of the court's seizure of the union's strike and defense funds.

Meanwhile throughout the country the seven-month Eastern Airline strike continues. During the Virginia UMWA plant-occupation thousands of Eastern strikers were among the supporters outside.

In International Falls, Minnesota, 150 union construction workers have been on strike for two months. The strike began July 18, at a Boise Cascade paper mill expansion project employing non-union labor and the viciously anti-union contractor BK&E. On September 9 strikers overran a complex built to house non-union workers and destroyed 10 units. Thirty workers were arrested and 22 now face various felony charges. The FBI is preparing federal charges against strike supporters for crossing state lines to participate in a "riot." Some reports mention that racism has become a factor in the strike: BK&E's southern-recruited workers include a good number of Blacks and Latinos. To what extent this is true I don't know.

On September 16, 11,000 people demonstrated in St. Paul, the state capital, in support of the strike. In Minnesota's largest labor rally in years, the demonstrators demanded a cut-off in state credits granted to Boise Cascade for the expansion project.

I also just heard on the radio that after several wildcat actions, teachers in Utah engaged in a one-day state-wide strike demanding the transfer of certain funds to education.

Despite this upsurge in workers' resistance, the union structures, while now leading some of these struggles, have limited them, unwilling to break the laws that hamstringing labor.

At the outset of the Eastern strike a transportation strike of some size was possible in the East. But the union leaders backed down in the face of court orders.

In addition, the recent \$10,000 delivered by a UAW caravan to the Pittston strikers isn't enough. Why hasn't the UAW organized other AFL-CIO affiliates to tell the UMWA that they will back the miners with funds if the union decides to escalate the sit-ins? And with nation-wide strike action if the bosses and the state respond?

Anarchists in the workplace need to be saying "U.S. workers need their own Defiance Campaign." Unfortunately, present realities will largely limit us to pointing out what steps could be taken. The union bureaucracy is definitely not inclined to engage in such actions. We need to explain to workers why the Winpisingers and Trumkas won't organize them, beyond merely saying "they're sell-outs—all on the take" or "they are agents of the capitalist class—period." Christ! most workers do not even realize there are capitalist laws against effective solidarity. We need to explain not only that such obstacles to our struggle exist and must be defied, but also that we have to consider if, when, and how this can be done. This is one of our tasks today while we participate in strikes and solidarity actions that are taking place. While furthering the cohesiveness and militancy of the struggles, we must avoid shrill attacks on the union officialdom and broadside calls for unprepared action. □

SMASH APARTHEID!

(Continued from page 1)

unions and political formations for an anti-election strike. The unions also called for a month-long consumer boycott beginning September 13.

During the first month of the campaign—which is to continue in the post-election period—the government ap-

plied brutal repressive measures. Many were killed and injured, and several of the former hunger strikers were re-arrested at home, although not at the rallies where they "unbanned" themselves. However, in the presence of TV cameras, especially where noted non-violent figures like Archbishop Tutu were present, the police played it hands-off.

Despite this attempt at a low profile, state violence has become a public issue since a Black police lieutenant from the so-called "Coloured" township of Mitchells Plain has gone to the media to expose the "wild dog" actions of the white cops there. On September 13, over 20,000 people marched in Capetown, led by Archbishop Tutu and the white mayor of the city. The government first asked that it be called off but then declared it legal.

The election results revealed the growing differences among the white population. The ruling National Party retained its comfortable majority of seats. But its showing was the worst since coming to power 41 years ago. On the extreme racist right the Conservative Party took 17 seats while the newly-formed, liberal Democratic Party gained 13.

What will happen next?

Some to-do has been made about new president de Klerk's conciliatory tone and call for gradual change in his inaugural remarks on September 20.

But his speech was little more than warmed over P.W. Botha. Talking about "not replacing the white domination with Black domination" is but a cover for the majority of whites' desire to allow some restructuring of South African society while maintaining white power and privilege. (70% of the whites feel some kind of power-sharing with Blacks is inevitable.) His current proposal for a five-year gradual move to some form of Black political participation can't break the impasse and bring about negotiations. There has been some talk of de Klerk freeing Nelson Mandela within nine months time. This is possible, but probably only given a continued high level of resistance from inside South Africa coupled with international pressure, i.e., sanctions, directed at an already-ailing economy.

The most important factor will be MDM's ability to keep the initiative within the country. Within the not-too-distant future we may see the oppressed people of South Africa force the apartheid state to the bargaining table. This would be a great victory in itself. □



Dear ON GOGOL BOULEVARD subscriber,

With the Torch discontinuing publication, so ends this OGB News from the Soviet Bloc section. OGB will hopefully continue to publish sporadic issues. In the meantime there's a plan for a continental anti-au-



thoritarian paper which would publish regularly. Such a paper would probably carry an OGB section like the one in the Torch—and we'd like you to receive it.

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Thanks.

—BOB MCGLYNN



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Free Petr Cibulka!

Czechoslovakian Alternative Tape Distributor Faces Ten Years in Jail!

Petr Cibulka is one of the prime movers on non-commercial music and culture in dictatorial Czechoslovakia. He has been jailed many times (with health permanently damaged) for his activities in the counterculture and political opposition. Jailed again, he faces another long stretch. Those close to him believe he'll die in jail from ill health. His irreplaceable tape collection—one of as kind in a country like Czechoslovakia—has been seized by the state.

Below is excerpted material from The Bloc: Voice of Central and Eastern Europe, June-July 1989. Following that is an update by Susanne, a close supporter of Petr's from Holland. —Bob McGlynn

AN independent music publisher, Petr Cibulka, has recently been charged with "illegal trading" and is currently being held in prison. Cibulka is apparently being prosecuted for "large scale speculation."

In fact, these recordings were heavily subsidized from Cibulka's own pocket. By quoting the exact cost of producing a tape or cassette and comparing costs with Cibulka's prices shows that to make any profit at all, Cibulka had to sell at least 16 copies (on cassette) or 20 copies (on reel-to-reel tape) of each of his recordings. However, Cibulka's list of recordings included predominantly "non-commercial" items. Of the 331 titles on his list, only one or two percent would have sold around 30 copies or more.

It is only possible to make a profit from selling recordings of music in Czechoslovakia if you make illegal copies of Western records or of recordings of the American top twenty. But this is what Cibulka did not do. Strangely enough, these activities are tolerated by the secret police, although they are in breach of international copyright.

Cibulka writes: "I would like to thank all those in Czechoslovakia and abroad for all they are doing on my behalf and on behalf of all other activists in Czechoslovakia. I assure them that their actions are not futile, even if everything ends up the worst for us. Any attempt to do anything is valuable, even if it turns out to be unsuccessful. Such attempts harden you, enable you to learn new things about yourself and give you invaluable experience for further struggle."

Susanne's Update:

I have some news about Petr Cibulka. I've just been to Czechoslovakia where I visited Petr's mother in Brno. The situation still looks quite bad.

The police provided the prosecution with 500 names of people who "admitted" to have received "subversive" material from Petr. The accusation book is ready now, it is 1,000 (!!) pages long, and has to be paid for by Petr himself! Now he and his lawyer can study the book until the process takes place, probably in September. Petr also has to pay for his stay in prison, and since he can't earn money, he is accumulating a debt towards the state.

The situation is also very sad for Vera Cibulka, Petr's mother. She is going through all this alone; all her friends fled because they don't want to get involved in politics—too dangerous. Her mail has been censored for several months, and her house searched three times. On top of this, her little garden, which she bought with her few savings, has been confiscated. Since Petr is in prison she has not been allowed to see him. (In a letter I received from Vera Cibulka, she states, "I am



an old, ill, and lonely woman, who has no relatives and my son is the only support in my life." She thanks those who are helping Petr. —BMCG)

According to her and Petr's lawyer, the best way to put pressure on the Czech government is to send letters to the president demanding Petr's release.

Protest letters can work! There's been much experience in this, Czechoslovakia has backed down before. A single page letter to Czechoslovakia is only 45 cents.

Protest letters to: President of Czechoslovakia.

Hradcany
Prague, Czechoslovakia
Czechoslovakian Embassy
3900 Linnaean Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036

Petr's prison address (whether his mail is withheld or not is irrelevant, the state still sees it and uses it as a gauge of how much protest there is):

Petr Cibulka

Nar. 29. 10. 1950.,

Nvumscr Brno-Bohunice, PSC 62500, Czechoslovakia

Copies of protest letters and letters to Petr should go to Vera Cibulka, Mucednicka 39, 61600 Brno, Czechoslovakia and Susanne, Postbus 16683, 1001 RD Amsterdam, Holland.

Hiroshima Day/Chernobyl Appeal from Lviv Trust Group

Dear Friends,

We, the representatives of the independent group, "Trust Between East and West," express our solidarity with the representatives of alternative groups in the West and East who are fighting for human rights and freedom for all countries.

In regard to the well-remembered date of August 6, 1945, the day of the atomic explosions on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, we bow our heads for all those killed in that terrible atomic catastrophe. Together with that, we want to honor all those killed in the Ukraine at Chernobyl during the accident at the atomic power plant, the radiation from which affected not only the Ukraine.

We call upon you to honor on that day those killed at Chernobyl as well, and with all our might we call upon the leaders of the Western and Eastern communities to not allow another Hiroshima or Chernobyl.

With all our strength and solidarity we will not allow the world to be destroyed as a result of the unconsidered actions of a handful of people.

Let this day, August 6, be an international day of remembering and of large-scale demonstrations throughout the world.

With great love for all living in the West and East,

The "Trust" Group
Contact: Alik Olisevich
290068 Lviv 68
ul. Kalininova 270 kv. 3
Ukraine, USSR



Lviv Trust Group, left to right:

Oleg, Igor,
Lyuda, Larissa,
Madron, Lera,
Alik.

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Yugoslavia — A Weak Link in the Anarchist Chain

By WILL FIRTH

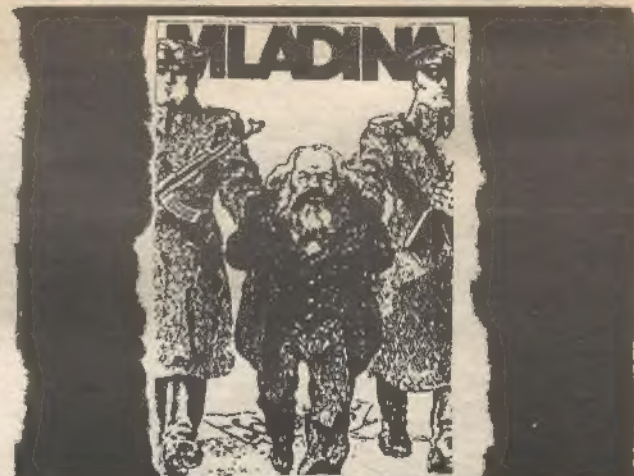
HAVING been in Yugoslavia for a year and made lots of contacts, I'd like to say a bit on the position of anarchism in this country. Encouraging news like that which can be heard from Poland and Hungary is unfortunately all too rare from Yugoslavia. We're dealing with a fairly rudimentary situation.

A search through the history of the Balkans, or at least of that part of the Balkan peninsula that is today within the state of Yugoslavia, reveals only limited traces of anarchism. Mention should be made of the old agrarian social structures with their peasant cooperatives and other traditions of mutual aid. But these can only be considered in context with the strong patriarchal relations, the domination of monotheistic religion, and the ethnic/national preoccupations which here all too often boil over into blood-thirsty chauvinism. Anyway, industrialization has removed almost all trace of these old libertarian elements, without damaging the nationalisms, patriarchy and religion.

Several other things of historical interest are a syndicalist propaganda group which was active in Belgrade shortly after the turn of the century (and about which recently an article appeared in the Zagreb sociological review *Pitanja*), a rural commune which existed in Slavonia (north central Yugoslavia), and a workers' soccer club before World War II in Split which called itself "Anarchos" and apparently developed some elements of a popular anarchist culture.

The Yugoslav system of workers' control arouses quite a deal of interest. This so-called "self-managed socialism" involves a considerable degree of decision-making independence in many thousands of enterprises and factories in all branches of the economy. This needs to be considered, however, in the overall framework of central control by the Yugoslav League of Communists. It seems that this widely-praised "alternative model for socialism" with its economic (and to a certain extent cultural) decentralization came about not on the basis of libertarian-type ideas but much more due to the decentralized settlement pattern and social diversity of the mountainous country. The stalinist Party leadership couldn't create a centralized economy overnight. So in 1950, with the introduction of appropriate legislation, they yoked together the country in a framework of semi-autonomous workers' councils. (Which is quite a contradiction, no? You can be no more semi-autonomous than you can be semi-pregnant...)

Most people will have heard of the current Yugoslav crisis, marked for example by over 1,000% skyrocketing inflation and a flaring-up of nationalist conflicts, linked with or triggered by an aggressive Serbian chauvinism under Milosevic (Serbian Party boss and President of that Republic). The official ideology has lost direction and admits it is in crisis. In the northwest of the country many independent political groups are forming, largely on the model of Western liberal parties, and are increasingly searching for a share in political influence. Ideo-



Mladina is a popular alternative "new-left" type magazine from Slovenia, Yugoslavia.

logical control has diminished in the last few years and sections of the press are showing an openness and critical approach unknown in the last decade.

Although Party-domination and its ideology are rejected by large sectors of the population verbally, the inherent culture of uncertainty and fear is not so easy to overcome. Almost everyone is a cynic, but almost no one wants to become involved in alternative politics. I feel that the unstable economic situation and the plummet in living standards is strengthening this passivity. But other anarchists think differently. They say that the simple existence of a crisis in the country motivates people to change, that it will of itself generate resistance. (Strikes me as a mechanistically "marxist"-type view.)

Anarchists in Yugoslavia are few and far between. There are no firm groups, but there is a loose network of individuals in the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Recently a "Tertiary-school Alliance of Anti-Yugoslav Anarchists" (AAAA) was formed in Ljubljana, but I don't know much about it yet. A Zagreb comrade said the founding of the group was just meant as a joke. Some anarchists are involved in wimmin's groups, peace groups and ecological initiatives like SVARUN* in Zagreb. The anarchists tend to be young, most are tertiary-educated or are currently studying. Some classical anarchist literature has been translated into Serbo-Croat and Slovenian, but it seems that there is virtually nothing modern and/or popular, e.g., Situationist texts, power-analysis, anarchist comics, etc.

I think it's particularly important to help develop syndicalism in Yugoslavia. During my contacts with anarchists here I've noticed an almost total absence of syndicalist inclination. The current transition to classically capitalist economic structures without elements of self-management will probably lead to extreme exploitation (like in the South-East Asian "Free Trade Zone") unless there are strong workers' defense organizations. But there are sporadic positive signs, like the refusal earlier this year by train-drivers in Slovenia to pay dues to the official union. From this it's a step further to cancelling membership and forming independent worker-controlled unions which will

A Call for Urgent Action

By SAMUEL FARBER

IN the early morning of August 6, three Cuban human rights activists were arrested and many of their personal documents and belongings were seized in Havana. Those arrested were Elizardo Sanchez, president of the Cuban Commission of Human Rights and National Reconciliation, Hiram Abi Cobas, Secretary General of the unofficial Party for Human Rights, Hubert Jerez, president of the recently-created Martí Committee for the Rights of Man. They are charged with "disseminating false news" in connection with the trial of high Cuban military officers accused of drug trafficking. This trial—which clearly did not meet internationally recognized minimum standards of due process, e.g., the government-appointed defense attorneys only engaged in the most perfunctory efforts on behalf of the accused—culminated in the execution of four of these high-ranking officers on July 13 this year.

Elizardo Sanchez is well known for his scrupulous monitoring of the human rights situation in Cuba. He has advocated a democratic reform of the Cuban political system along lines similar to those of the East European democratic reform movements. He has also favored the restoration of normal diplomatic and trade relations between the U.S. and Cuba. His political positions and human rights activities have earned him the bitter enmity of both the Cuban government and the Miami right-wing exiles.

In late August, Orlando Polo, the leader of a small group of Green-Ecological-Pacifist activists in Cuba (a nuclear power plant in nearing completion not far from Cienfuegos in central Cuba) was arrested after he appealed and protested the closure and seizure of the contents of the office he had installed at his home. At this point the rest of his dwelling was also shut down by the authorities. He has since been released although the authorities continue to occupy his dwelling.

Amnesty International has issued a call for Urgent Action urging the immediate and unconditional release of Elizardo Sanchez, Hiram Abi Cobas and Hubert Jerez on the ground that they are prisoners of conscience. We support this call and in addition demand the end of all forms of harassment against Orlando Polo and his associates. Amnesty suggests that all communication be sent to:

Su Excelencia en Jefe
Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz
Presidente de la Republic y
Presidente de Estado y de Ministros
Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba.

CUBA — Proletarian State?

IN the so-called Proletarian State of Cuba one is condemned and shot merely on the basis of suspicion of the intent to form independent unions. We are not making this denunciation to demand that fate take pity on us. We do not believe in fate; on the contrary, we firmly believe in humanity and in the unavoidable right of the internationally exploited class: The Working Class.

This denunciation is not only a sentence against the despicable fascist State, but is also intended to wake up those sleeping consciences which have not yet committed themselves to the cause of the exploited.

Persecution, imprisonment and assassinations have been the destiny of trade union activists and of the working class in general since the beginning of the proletariat in Cuba up until our own times. The death sentence ordered by the Popular Tribunal in April 1983 of the young (19 to 26 years old) workers: Carlos García Díaz, Angel Donato Martínez and Benito García Oliveira is convincing proof of the extreme cruelty of the totalitarian Castroist State against the working class; it also demonstrates how the system acts to confuse and disinform all those who are concerned with the abuses against the workers on the island. These five youths, condemned to pay the supreme penalty by shooting, accused of industrial sabotage and the intention to form an independent union, are now serving long sentences, after smuggling information to the outside and having their death sentences commuted. Their wives also faced sentences for association, concealment and conspiracy. Caridad Pavón, alias "la Gallega" (the Galician), feminist leader of the sindicalist group known as the Zapata Movement (for its Zapatist-Magonist call for a true agrarian revolution, agricultural collectives and agrarian unionism), mysteriously appeared, dead, in a cell of the Department of State Security (located in Villa Marista) while undergoing interrogation. The official report called it a suicide. (It is worth noting that at the moment of detention, before being placed in cells, prisoners are meticulously examined, including body searches.)

In 1981, the railway worker, Omar Villavicencio, 24-years old, was shot in the province of Camaguey, after having been transferred from the Combinado del Este prison in Havana, naked and exposed in a "kennel" or Black Maria (subhuman cell used to transport prisoners) to the site of his assassination. The young worker activist had been a prisoner for two years, held incommunicado in a "Death Rectangle" (an installation housing regular prisoners and those condemned to death) in the Combinado del Este prison, awaiting his execution on charges of industrial sabotage. In that same year, another worker activist, the agrarian worker Emilio Relova Cardulís, was assassinated in front of the execution cell.

In 1982, the first effort of the agro-sindicalist movement was carried out in the town of San José de las Lajas in Havana Province. Two of its activists, the peasants Ramón Toledo Lugo and Armando Hernández González, were shot. The rest of the peasants active in the union movement, the brothers Daniel, Carlos and Jorge Cardo, Jesus Varela, Israel López Toledo and Timoteo Toledo Lugo, were sentenced to 30 years in jail. The wives of Ramón Toledo and Armando Hernández were also sentenced.

Greens Form In Cuba

By JACEK PURAT

THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT'S recent decision to ban the independent ecological group Asociación Naturista VIDA and the repression of the Green Path movement are clear signs that the Castro regime lacks understanding of the problems of environmental destruction in Cuba.

The Asociación Naturista VIDA, comprised of vegetarians, nature lovers, and new-age environmentalists, has been in existence since 1943. It retained a low profile until 1988, when the Asociación protested the proposed allocation of a huge municipal dump which threatened the only source of water for the city of Guanabacoa and, in addition, was allocated next to their nature center "Colonia Naturista."

The government's swift response was prompted by the discovery that the Asociación had been maintained since 1943 on democratic principles in accordance with "reactionary" by-laws. Those bylaws are indeed modeled on the standard U.S. non-profit format—obviously too democratic for the administration in Havana. The banning of the organization was followed by the taking away of the nature preserve which had belonged to and was maintained by the group since 1943.

A dispute among members followed the government's decision; and while some filed suit in the Cuban court, others formed another organization whose goals are wider and appropriately more direct. Its official title is "Senderoverde, Ecopacifista Movement of Cuba." Its initiator, Orlando Polo, has begun long walks from Havana to Santiago de Cuba during which he frequently talks about the environmental problems of Cuba. Arrested on numerous occasions for delivering speeches in public gatherings, he was proclaimed insane and thus not dangerous. However, his walks and speeches gather a huge crowd of enthusiastic supporters; and when it came to protesting the construction of a nuclear power plant, designed like the one in Chernobyl, in the Bay of Cienfuegos, 250 people came from all over Cuba to shut the plant down.

Since then, protests have multiplied in number. The most recent one was a protest over the contingent of AIDS victims in a jail-like hospital near Havana. The protestors wanted to propose a special herbal treatment for those victims but were denied that right. The facility is heavily guarded and no one except parents can visit the inmates.

Recent important plans include the cleaning of the Ammen-dares River in Central Havana and an assessment of the extent of biological death in Havana Bay. The entire bay is covered

In 1984, the agrarian worker Ramón Vera Chaviano, active defender of peasant rights, was executed in Havana for sabotage.

In 1986, the union activist Rafael Aquino Limonta, worker in the Ron Caney factory of Santiago de Cuba, was executed, on the grounds of intending to organize a labor strike.

In 1987, in the month of February, the railway workers Ernesto Llanes Sotolongo and Efraín Montero Quezada were executed in Camaguey, adding still more to the list of those assassinated in defence of the workers' rights.

In a recent report sent to the outside world, we publicized the terrible working conditions of those who work under the totalitarian Cuban state.

Eighty percent of the factories and industries presently operating in Cuba use the same machinery, production systems and systems of industrial safety that they used when they were operating as private enterprises more than 30 years ago. The lack of maintenance, the speedup the workers are subjected to, and the few safety measures for the workers summarize the working conditions to which our workers are exposed.

In the last seven years, more than 5,000 accidents have occurred in MINAZ (the National Ministry of the Sugar Industry) in Santiago de Cuba alone, with a balance of 21 killed as a consequence.

In the city of Sancti Spiritu, nine workers recently died owing to an explosion in a flywheel factory operating under poor working conditions.

The factories and industries enumerated below are palpable examples in which the workers are exposed to great danger with little safety measures and under subhuman production conditions, which, aside from affecting the ecology, contaminate the areas in which they are located:

- 1) Factory of Chemical Fertilizers, CUBANITRO, district of Versalles, province of Matanzas.
- 2) Rayonera, Versalles district, Matanzas province.
- 3) Textilera Ariguanabo, Havana province.
- 4) Soap, Perfume and Chemical Detergent factory (the old Crusellas plant), district of El Cerro, Havana province.

Various factories located in the districts of La Lisa and Puentes Grandes in the Mariano region drain their water and wastes in the Almendares River, in a deliberate and unconscionable manner, in the same way as when they were exploited by the former capitalist companies, contributing to the ecological disaster of the region. The contamination of the waters of the Almendares River has brought home the almost total extinction of its aquatic fauna and flora.

The CUBANITRO and RAYONERA factories, in the Versalles district of Matanzas province, not only affect the health of the workers who work in them, owing to the escape of toxic gases and the drainage of poisonous substances, such as arsenic and various acids, but also contribute to the ecological catastrophe of the region. Specifically, the chemical fertilizer factory, CUBANITRO, in its plants, Arsenic Plant and Acid Plant, emit toxic gases that rarely the atmosphere in a densely populated area, as well as dumping wastes contaminated with poisonous substances into the Bay of Matanzas, causing an enormous ecological disequilibrium. The flora of the surrounding area has been affected, revealing eroded and arid terrain, even in the

with a thick film of oil which washes out at the beaches around Havana, making them recreationally unsuitable. In many places the sand is black and has an oily muck. Also, the group's summer plans include a walk of friendship between Cuba and the United States from the Soviet military base and nuclear plant site at the Bay of Cienfuegos to the American military base at Guantanamo. Eagerness to generate Western currency has prompted the easing of hunting laws in order to allow a massive slaughter of North American migrating waterfowl by Canadian and West European hunters who enjoy hunting without limits in Cuba.

The inability of the government to solve environmental and health problems are viewed by many Cubans as a major failure of Fidel Castro. There is a constant shortage of water in Havana and Santiago. Water which is available must be boiled before drinking due to heavy bacterial contamination. Central Havana resembles parts of Calcutta with its crumbling and dirty buildings left unattended since the revolution. There is so much pollution from trucks, buses, and cars that the air is dust. In addition, the general lack of cleaning utensils and water creates a faulty organic odor. In those conditions, lung problems and other diseases prevail, and the natural immunity of Cubans is lowered due to the lack of vitamins and fruits. There are no bananas or other fruits available in the stores. Throughout the year the only vegetables available in abundance are potatoes and green peppers. In addition, those with some extra savings can buy fig jam from Albania or canned peppers from Bulgaria. All the food including dairy foods is rationed. Those who need more milk for their children exchange their government ration of tobacco for milk, since tobacco—like everything else from needles to shoes—is rationed. In this once-lush tropical island, one can not even buy a flower for one's beloved's birthday.

Well, this is the result of 30 years of military regime: In Cuba there is a nuclear plant which threatens the ecological safety of the entire Caribbean but 80% of Cuban households use kerosene cookers. And there are hundreds of trucks speeding through the country in some industrial madness; but one cannot buy a bicycle for one's own use. Cuba wants to save the Third World, but at the cost of Cuban children who don't have enough milk and fresh fruit.

To contact Green Path (remember, Cuban censorship is extreme): Orlando Polo / Mercedes Paez, Colonia Naturista, Rpto. Escala / Guanabacoa, Havana 11100, Cuba.

Jacek Purat is a U.S. Polish emigre and an organizer of the Berkeley, California-based Green Library.

semi-swamp zones, owing to the constant dumping.

Since the previous report, citing terrible working conditions of the workers, reached the outside world, the director of the State Committee on Work and Social Security, Francisco Linares, has organized secret meetings with directors of the CPCC (Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party), state functionaries and the national leaders of the state Central Workers Union of Cuba, with the purpose of deciding what measures and attitude said committee should take in the face of these exposes.

For free unionism! For free initiative!
For self-management! For direct democracy of the workers!
For the protection of the ecology!

ZAPATA MOVEMENT Agro-Sindicalism in Cuba

IN 1982, confused reports about symptoms of rebellion in the heart of the working masses, fundamentally peasants, came out of Cuba: a strike attempt at the Abraham Lincoln sugar mill and the detention of 20 activists of an agrarian movement, the Zapata Group. They were accused of having carried out sabotage and, so it was said, of intending to form an independent union organization in the style of Solidarity in Poland.

Five men were sentenced to death, and a woman, Carida Pavón (La Gallega—the Galician), a feminist leader of the group, did not survive the tortures in Villa Marista (the site authorized by the Department of State Security, G-2, to carry out interrogations); her mysterious death was shamelessly described by the authorities as a "suicide."

A powerful international campaign saved the five activists from execution; nevertheless, they were held tightly incommunicado for a number of years, while even today one of them, Angel Donato Martínez, an anarcho-sindicalist leader of the Zapata agrarian movement, remains in the gloomy "Death Rectangle" in the Combinado del Este prison in Havana province.

Seizing the ideological legacy of Magonismo-Zapatismo (the ideas of the Mexican revolutionaries Ricardo Flores Magón and Emiliano Zapata), this agro-sindicalist movement for self-management was inspired to fight for the needs of the class of agrarian workers by means of seizing the land and machinery and expropriating the State (the sole boss and monopolist proprietor of all the land and all means of production under State capitalism). Consistent with their ideals, these agro-sindicalist activists sought to establish contact with similar groups in Latin America and other parts of the world with the same aims: the direct democracy of the workers.

The short life of the movement (in the street, since it is still alive behind the walls of the prison) did not permit it to develop into what they call an authentic revolutionary movement of the masses. The contacts did not materialize, the struggle was not internationalized, but instead it remained confined in the Cuban historical process, again the necessity of a true Revolution within the so-called Revolution. This demand, which so frequently comes forth from the youth of the island (who day by day intensify the revolutionary struggle to shake off the bourgeoisie of the new dominant class) terrifies them, since this would mean the end of the privileges of the bourgeois elite which in the name of the working class has raised itself on its shoulders by means of a brutal repressive machine which does not shrink from sentencing, jailing or shooting all those who dissent from it.□

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Translation by Ron Tuber.

(Continued from page 7)

national newsmagazine, *Maclean's*, Canada's External Affairs Minister, Joe Clark, wrote, "The governments' objectives are to strengthen the international non-proliferation regime and to ensure that Canada's nuclear exports, such as CANDU reactors and uranium will not be diverted to explosive uses. Today, Canada's non-proliferation policy is among the strictest in the world."

Joe Clark has been made fully aware of Romania's nuclear intentions but has avoided responding to this unpleasant problem. He is also aware that Romania publicly announced on January 15, 1989, in Vienna at the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that it would not abide by the strengthened human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords to which it had just affixed its signature; so how could Clark claim that Romania will abide by the non-proliferation provisions that it had signed?

Clark is also unable to ask Romania to give reassurance that it will not use Canada's reactors to produce weapons because it would be like pissing against the wind—Clark knows full well that on June 9, 1989, at the Paris meeting of the CSCE, his ambassador, William Bauer, explicitly accused Romania of "evading" and "lying."

There is also documented testimony that Romania has used forced re-settlement and forced labor of its minority Hungarians to work on Canada's nuclear reactor near the city of Cernavoda by the Black Sea.

Canada's criminal complicity must be stopped!

Send letters to Canadian embassies

and to "External Affairs, Joe Clark, House of Commons, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0A6."

Send copies of those letters and any other information to NO NUKES FOR ROMANIA COMMITTEE, Box 233, Cobourg, Ontario, Canada K9A 4K5.



South African street committee asks for help

To ON GOGOL BOULEVARD:

Greetings in the name of our global struggle. I came to know you through the *Torch* newspaper of the RSL.

We write to you as a South African street committee. We are doing some political education programmes among our community with the aim of creating political maturity. We have noticed that the internecine violence that erupts in the townships is caused by the poverty of a coherent political theory.

Our attempts in educating our people have been constrained by a shortage of literature relating to our experience. That may be attributed to the fact that we have been unable to save funds to buy books overseas, either because we are working underground with the fear that we might be detained, or else our community fails to contribute because the community tries to maintain its existence using the minimum salaries paid by their employers.

I write to you asking you to pledge to sponsor certain literature, magazines, or newspapers which we can circulate through our community. I should say that our community has shown some keenness to read literature pertaining to any struggle that was waged or is to be waged.

Thank you in anticipation with revolutionary greetings, a South African

READERS: If you'd like to send this street committee material, stuff it in an envelope with appropriate postage for South Africa and mail it to ON GOGOL BOULEVARD. We'll then send it along to the street committee.

FILO

Dear ON GOGOL BOULEVARD:

Thank you for the copy of the article "Gays in Eastern Europe" [*Torch* reprint from *Peace and Democracy News*] which was quite interesting.

Our small groups' business is mostly publishing *FILO*, a magazine for Polish gays. We are really in quite a big trouble when we have to translate letters to our foreign correspondents. We lack very much a computer which could be just indispensable in our work. If you in any way could improve our hard situation, we would be grateful.

What does *FILO* mean?

It is an old Greek word which has many meanings as: lover, friend, amateur, etc. . . .

I have enclosed the two last issues of *FILO*. In my next letter I will send



you photos of one of the meetings of gays and lesbians from Eastern Europe in Budapest.

With best regards,

Ryszard Kisiel

To contact *FILO* and Gdansk Gay Group: Ryszard Kisiel, Skrytka Pocz. 577, 80-958 Gdansk 50, Poland.

Three issues of *FILO* (in Polish) are available from On Gogol Boulevard for \$3 (xerox and postal expenses).

Make the world a freer place . . .

To ON GOGOL BOULEVARD:

We received your letter and highly edifying bulletin, and want to register our profound interest in your activities and ideals. We are a body of young school leavers, victims of the crises of capitalist accumulation in Nigeria, nay, the Third World. Three years after graduation from the universities, we remain unemployed, in a country where social welfare is nonexistent. But we are nevertheless unrelenting in our commitment to the higher ideals of peace and national liberation, in all its ramifications.

Each passing day of our suffering rekindles our faith in the struggle for freedom, liberation, self-determination, and peace, whether it be in Nigeria, Africa, or elsewhere in the world. Our perspective is essentially leftist/neo-marxist, not forgetting that we are a Third-World society, still grappling with the problems of debt, disease, poverty, dependence, misrule, and military dictatorships.

Please list us as a contact for activities and other ON GOGOL BOULEVARD projects in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. We see ourselves, our views and ideas as compatible, indeed identical in a more fundamental sense; namely that of the struggle to make the world a freer and safer place for mankind. We speak fluent English and a little French. We expect to hear from you soon.

James Ndubuisi, Secretary

Yours Faithfully,
Samuel Mbah, Coordinator
c/o Awareness League
PO Box 28
Agbani, Via Enugu
Nigeria

Statement of the International Office of the Polish Socialist Party—Democratic Revolution on General Jaruzelski's visit to Britain

ON the 10th and 11th of June General Wojciech Jaruzelski visited Britain and received from Mrs. Thatcher promises of substantial economic aid over the next five year period.

Margaret Thatcher has quite a few keen admirers among the leaders of the Polish regime. They are intent on introducing Thatcherism Polish style by reintroducing unemployment, imposing market discipline, factory closures, and privatization of industry.

The new leadership of the Gdansk shipyards, operating through an Anglo-Polish company, has already announced that only 10% of the present workforce will be retained and that workers joining trade unions will be sacked.

General Jaruzelski, in a recent interview with *The Independent*, applauded Thatcher's treatment of the British miners as an example of the kind of unpopular but necessary policy currently being embarked upon



May Day, '89 — streetfighters in Warsaw, Poland. PPS-RD banner at right.

by the Polish regime. During the miners strike itself Jaruzelski helped break the miners resistance by exporting coal to Britain.

Nothing could more strikingly confirm the anti-working class character of the present Polish regime than this support and admiration for the most reactionary and anti-working class capitalist government in Europe.

The International Office of the PPS—RD looks forward to the speedy downfall of both regimes at the hands of the organized working class and sends best wishes for victory to the tube and bus workers and dockers currently engaged in struggles to defend their living standards.

from *Socialist Messenger* #3

Bulletin of the International Office of the Polish Socialist Party—Democratic Revolution
The Basement, 92 Ladbroke Grove, London W11, U.K.
Telephone: 229-6259

Finnish/Soviet Anti-Nuclear Cooperation

By EERO HAAPANEN

MY group is the East-Europe Committee. It was established in the spring of 1986 by some leftist students who wanted to break

from the self-deception of the Finnish left. At that time it was very heretical to do, and still is sometimes. The Committee has mainly cooperated with Finnish students, the peace movement, Greens and the ecological movement, and recently with the anti-nuclear power movement. We have published a booklet entitled "Europe Searches for Itself" — discussions mainly of East-European groups such as Prague Appeal, Underground Fire, and the independent Soviet trade union SMOT (before "perestroika"); we have also published some other smaller texts. Mainly our work has been to encourage and advise citizens and groups here and there to make contacts and begin cooperation. We have contacts with WiP, PPS, Moscow Trust Group, Democratic Union, and in Estonia with many groups.

Now there are Finnish attempts to start anti-nuclear cooperation with Estonians and other nationalities in the Soviet Union. In Estonia and also in the Ukraine there are new movements of the victims of Chernobyl, movements of men who've been in forced labor to clean the polluted area. Formally, they are participating in repeat military training, and under the command of the army, and military law, which means the threat of a capital sentence for refusing to work. The normal service time has been one half year, every day working, up to 16 hours, without holidays.

Their work consists of cutting the polluted surface of the soil and burying it in huge pits. "Chernobyl veterans," as they call themselves in Estonia, claim systematic falsification of radiation levels so that everyone stays outside the classification of radiation victim, saving the state extra compensation. Documents have also revealed that the army is pressuring doctors and health officials not to admit that those who have died or become handicapped are victims of radiation. In Estonia seven veterans have died of cancer, and seven others have cancer out of two to three hundred veterans who've organized. The total number of Estonian veterans is supposed to be 4,000, but they are not recorded in any public register. According to some, the whole number of conscripted forced labor is 200,000. This year new groups of men from Estonia will be sent to the area—the work is still going on.

The main aims and demands of the Estonian Chernobyl Committee are that the cleaning of the polluted area must be voluntary; that protection equipment must be made available, as well as information about conditions; veterans must have the status of war-veterans and all compensations according to it; a nuclear free Baltic states and North; unity with those conscripts who have participated in nuclear bomb experiments or served in nuclear forces.

The committee is working in hard conditions due to the lack of activists. Only some of the veterans are not afraid of publicity and many are also mentally wounded and in need of therapy.

The committee is collecting information about veterans. It has organized a Chernobyl museum of pictures, writings, and information about forced labor. It is preparing a film about veterans.

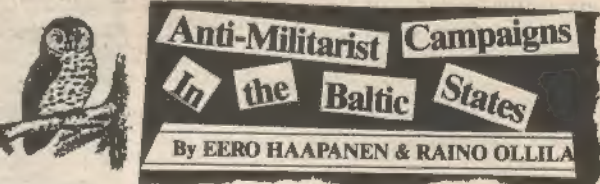
The Chernobyl committee is in urgent need of blank cassettes and small tape recorders with microphones to collect information.

The Finnish anti-nuclear power movement published an appeal: "NUCLEAR FREE NORTH!—The threats of nuclear power and the need of international protest movement." It is in Russian and brought at the end of July to the Soviet Union with 2,000 copies to the Muurmansk area where there took place a huge international official peace and ecological gathering. The appeal is especially directed against common Finnish-Soviet projects to build nuclear power plants in the border area in Karelia and in the Muurmansk area. Finland is supposed to participate in those projects and buy electricity from the plants. Also, a fifth nuclear power plant is being prepared for Finland, with the cooperation of the Soviet nuclear industry. Two of our existing reactors were built mainly by Soviet specialists. Seven times already special trains have exported the radiation wastes to the Soviet Union from the power station in Lovisa. The Finnish nuclear industry openly says it does not know the destiny of the waste, and does not participate in their treatment in any way. It's possible to make nuclear bombs from waste.

Chernobyl veterans from all over the Soviet Union are asked to reveal their information and experiences in this appeal. It is a question of extreme importance to the Western anti-nuclear power movement too.

East-Europe Committee, Eero Haapanen, 5. linja 7 C 59, 00530 Helsinki 53, Finland, tel.: 701 6002

Energy Political Association—Alternative to Nuclear Power
Pursimiehenkatu 29-31 A, 00150 Helsinki, Finland, tel.: 631 047



KGB taping peace demonstration in Tartu, Estonia.

ANTI-MILITARIST campaigns are gaining momentum in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In all these Baltic States, massive draft refusal has been organized. The days between April 4th and 14th marked almost daily demonstrations in front of draft offices. The main demand of the demonstrators has been the right to military service within the borders of their own republic. Other demands that have been raised are the right to alternative service and the establishment of a special committee in the Soviet parliament (the Supreme Soviet) to monitor the observance of human rights in the army.

A symbol uniting the protestors has been the case of Arthuras Sakalauskas, a Lithuanian conscript who presently awaits a military trial. Two years ago, he shot eight soldiers of his own unit after having suffered from long-lasting physical and mental torture by them. The anti-militarist campaigners are demanding a public trial for Sakalauskas in order to examine the guilt of all parties in the tragedy.

The Estonian press has carried articles on sexual violence in the army after the publication of an anonymous letter in the newspaper *Noorte Haal*. The letter in which an Estonian conscript described cases of homosexual rape in his unit in the Ukraine has led to a verdict against him. He is being accused of slandering the Soviet army.

The distinctive feature of the campaign in Tallinn is that it is organized

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Cops escort demonstrators in Bensonhurst march, Aug. 27. Rev. Timothy Mitchell, with bullhorn, is flanked (from left) by Rev. Herbert Daughtry, Rev. George Kuhn, lawyer C. Vernon Mason and Rev. Calvin Butts. At left, march in downtown Brooklyn, Aug. 31.

Do the Right Thing

(Continued from page 1)

after Griffith's murder. There wasn't a big, immediate call to action from the unions, the Black preachers or the Black politicians. Rev. Al Sharpton led 100-200 people on a small march on the Saturday after the killing and held a rally in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood. On Sunday, Reverend Calvin Butts, Reverend Herbert Daughtry, and Reverend Timothy Mitchell went down to Bensonhurst with about 75 people. Hundreds of spectators, shouting racist insults and threats and waving watermelons, met them. They were only safe because of the presence of hundreds of cops. And the cops are the most notorious murderers of Black people in the city. The white racists can see that the cops won't join them in the daylight while the cameras roll, but they know that a Black movement that relies on the New York police is nothing to fear.

The overall effect was to show weakness. It didn't have to be. The joint efforts of these reverends pack at least 2,000 people into church each week. Locals 1199 and DC-37 can each bring out 300 people on very little notice. And a radio announcement campaign could have brought at least 1,500 people. So there was no real need to go into Bensonhurst with so few people and no need to march under the protection of the cops.

But the last thing candidate David Dinkins wanted on television two weeks before the mayoral primary was lots of angry Black people in a white neighborhood. And the preachers agreed with him.

Reverend Butts said: "The marches need to happen, but when a march is over, it is over." Meaning: you have to let them march a bit—but we won't pose any threat to "law and order."

This isn't to say that people weren't angry or that there wasn't a response in the Black community. People were and are angry. How to respond was a main topic of conversation on the street. At the wake for Hawkins in Bed-Stuy, people gathered outside the funeral home, and chanted, "We want to march." Finally, community-based politician Sonny Carson and the December 12 Coalition, a group of organizers and community leaders (including the New York 8) who organized as a coalition in response to the Howard Beach murders, did call a demonstration in a Black area of Brooklyn. Several thousand people militantly marched through the area and onto the Brooklyn Bridge, injuring 23 cops in the process. (I didn't make the demo; I'm

glad other anarchists did and glad they wrote the report in *The Shadow*, a Lower East Side paper published by anarchist types.)

It's important this demo happened, but it was very clearly on the terms of the "leadership." Sonny Carson and the New York 8 are for some struggle, but they believed that the most important victory that could be won for Black people in September was the victory of David Dinkins. So the march was held near downtown Brooklyn, not Bensonhurst. And a light rain was enough to cancel a second march called two days after the primary.

Because Sonny Carson and the New York 8 simply aren't willing to alienate

David Dinkins: David Dinkins, who ran a "law and order" campaign. David Dinkins, who received the endorsement of the police supervisors' association (though not the PBA). David Dinkins, whose response to Hawkins' murder was to call for a new law. A law that would be directed against crimes by groups of youth in particular. In putting out this call he said that the law should be designed to prosecute crimes like the Hawkins murder and the "Central Park incident."

The "Central Park incident" is a reference to the much-publicized beating and gang-rape of a 28-year-old white woman by a group of Black youth earlier this summer. This attack is deplorable. No ifs, ands, or buts. The attempted murder of a Black woman earlier that evening by the same group of youth is also deplorable. As are the deaths of 29 Black and Latin people while in police custody in the last two years. As are the thousands of reported (and many more non-reported) rapes of Black women in New York City last year.

The publicity around this rape in Central Park wasn't used to talk about stopping violence against women. In fact, the press—notably the *New York Times*—still talks about the "rape of the investment banker" as if it was being an investment banker, not being a woman that made her vulnerable to rape. (And of course, the reason the *New York Times* was horrified is that an investment banker was raped; 100+ women are raped in New York City each month.) Mostly, this publicity was used to create hysteria about Black youth, particularly Black young men.

David Dinkins wasn't alone in linking the Hawkins murder and this rape. Just about every politician, newspaper publisher, white preacher, etc., etc., said or

wrote that it was too bad Hawkins had been murdered, and wasn't it terrible about the woman in Central Park. And all of them said: we have to do something about the youth.

But there are, of course, some differences in the discussions of the young men. For example, no one put full page ads in the major NYC papers calling for the murderers of Yusuf Hawkins to be executed, as Donald Trump did after the "Central Park incident." This time, the mayor (old or would-be) didn't call the assailants "purely evil."

Koch (disingenuously) asked "if the Central Park rape didn't reflect on all of Harlem, why should the Hawkins' murder reflect on all of Bensonhurst?" Now Koch tried his best to have that Central Park attack reflect on all of Harlem, and on all Black people. But the question is worth answering, because there's a very important difference: The actions of the Black youth were completely outside of what's accepted as reasonable behavior in their community. NO ONE, NOT ANYONE defends their actions. Running through the streets and park attacking people is not socially acceptable behavior in Harlem.

But in Bensonhurst, waiting around for Blacks with baseball bats is well within the norms of the community. For one, the neighborhood came out in support of the murderers. "Let the Bensonhurst Boys Go!" was, by all reports, almost as popular a chant as the racial insults and threats. Secondly, people in Bensonhurst blame Gina Feliciano for the situation much more readily than they blame the assailants. But most of all they blamed the victim. "What was he doing buying a car at 9 p.m.?" "What does a 16-year-old know about cars anyway?" And they very clearly said Blacks were not welcome in Bensonhurst. After all... "N...s go home" was the most popular chant.

Now the people of Bensonhurst aren't alone in focussing on the behavior of the victim. Much is made of Hawkins' "innocence." "He was a good kid, he got good grades in school, he was there to buy a car, not to go out with a white girl." Well, what's the message here? If he had been a dropout and he had been there to date a white woman, did he deserve to die? Many of the people of Bensonhurst and elsewhere would say "yes." Maybe this shouldn't surprise me in a country where the presidential election was largely won by TV ads showing a Black man as a monster.

No Justice: No Peace!

One of David Dinkins' major campaign themes is that he can bring racial peace to the city. The actual campaign is still to come, and New York has elected Republican mayors. So, the word goes, we still need to concentrate on making sure Dinkins gets in. Overall, the message that's around is "cool out!"

Now, I don't believe that everybody who lives in Bensonhurst is evil. And I certainly don't believe all white people are bad. But I'm not feeling particularly good about New York City right now. What's going on is that Black people, and particularly Black youth, are under attack. I haven't seen or heard good enough reasons to "cool out!" Too many people are down and out. Too many people are dead.

I don't think what needs to be done is to "cool out" and "build unity." Unity on the existing terms means complying with what's going on now. Unity among whom? Before I want to talk about building unity with our oppressors, I want to talk about fighting back against these attacks. □



"John Brown formed an organization among the colored people of the Adirondack Woods [NY, 1854] to resist the capture of any fugitive slave." From "John Brown Series," 1941, by Black U.S. artist Jacob Lawrence.

This article was written last winter as a political overview of the coming years and the tasks confronting anarchists in the U.S. The author plays in the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League (Minneapolis) and is an organizer of the conference to found an anarchist monthly newspaper to be held this November.
— TORCH / LA ANTORCHA

By NED DAY

THIS is an attempt to articulate the potential for a fighting anarchist revolutionary anarchist movement. It is divided into two sections. The first sketches a scenario of what such a movement might be able to do in the 1990s. The second section seeks to explore some of the questions that this scenario suggests.

Scenes of the struggle in the 1990s

It is the 1990s. The international economy has collapsed. In the United States the unemployed and homeless are visible everywhere. Wages are falling. Increasingly militant strikes are being ruthlessly crushed. Black rage finds expression in disruptive demonstrations as the electoral promises of the previous year fade. On the campuses a small militant student movement must contend with well-organized right-wing students. In the high schools the polarization is even sharper. Fascist youth groups are growing like a strong cancer on a weak body.

Major debtor nations have refused to pay back their debts. Insurrections are breaking out in Korea, the Philippines, Palestine, South Africa, Chile and El Salvador. The U.S. military is stretched to its limit and a siege mentality prevails in the high command. Desertions, disobedience and a few fraggings suggest that troop reliability is breaking down. There is strong support in the Pentagon for use of tactical nuclear weapons over further stretching conventional forces. As body bags seem to be coming from every corner of the world, enlistment in the armed forces has dropped in spite of high unemployment.

In Europe, unemployed youth are joining street fighting groups on the left and right. Bombing attacks on U.S. military installations occur with increasing frequency. Every U.S. military adventure brings millions into the streets, often to face tear gas, plastic bullets and water cannon.

In the United States, people arrested at demonstrations are getting long prison sentences. Movement offices have been targeted for burglaries, trashings and, in a few cases, arson. Police forces in most cities are training in the use of advanced weaponry. A bill is moving quietly through Congress to begin universal military service for young men.

Is this picture of the near future so unreal? In its particulars it may not all come to pass. But certainly there is good reason to expect some developments along these lines. Anarchists must be prepared for these events.

It is fall and U.S. troops are dropping from the Mexican sky to suppress an insurrection. Universal military service has been signed into law. Every major campus is on strike or on fire. Chicano demonstrations against the war in Los Angeles and San Antonio turn into riots. In Atlanta, seven Black youth are found dead with swastikas carved into their chests and a ghetto rebellion breaks

out that is not broken for three days. About 100 U.S. troops in the Philippines have mutinied demanding to be sent home. Wildcat strikes have broken out in trucking and meatpacking, and independent unions are being formed in fast-food and data processing.

It starts in a few cities. Groups of anarchists, largely but not exclusively youth, are showing up at demonstrations. They monitor the police and counter-demonstrators and respond to provocations coolly. But when opportunities present themselves they move fast. A bank is trashed. A police car set afire. Wearing masks or sometimes helmets and striking quickly, these small groups are able to avoid large numbers of arrests. Their numbers are growing.

When riots break out, these anarchist groups are quick to organize provisions and when necessary break through police lines. When strikes occur, these anarchists are the first on the picket lines and the most determined to turn back scabs. Their example is infectious and groups pop up in most major cities.

They are the the main organizers of a small but growing squatters movement. They have developed a reputation as the most serious fighters in an increasing number of confrontations with a growing fascist skinhead movement.

Because of the atmosphere of increasing repression, the anarchists are very secretive. The autonomous groups are organized in regional and continental networks that are able to coordinate responses to new developments but that have no formal leaders or spokespeople.

At first these groups draw most heavily from the high schools—including some mostly white ones as well as predominantly Black and Latino schools—where fear of military service and resistance to the oppressiveness of school mix with the natural defiance of youth. As they grow they set roots in the military and in neighborhoods. Consistent publication in Spanish has helped create a number of Latino anarchist circles. The commitment to physically confronting racists and fighting around issues important to Black people has

played a role in the birth of predominantly Black anarchist groups rooted in the African-American and Caribbean communities.

Universal military service has accidentally dragged some street fighters into the armed services. There they form small groups that play important roles in mutinies, fraggings and desertions.

As strike waves sweep the continent, younger workers, particularly Blacks and Latins, are attracted to the persistent pickets. Wimmin's groups organize self-defense training and street patrols in the more dangerous neighborhoods, undermining reliance on the police.

When factories, offices and schools are occupied the groups move quickly to mobilize community support. Wildcats give birth to independent workers' organizations. The groups help these organizations spread through their respective industries and communities with propaganda.

Many people join the movement because
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*Increase
the
Pressure!*



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cause of their participation in local struggles around particular conditions. Others make their first contact through propaganda. Spray-painted slogans popularize the basic orientation of the groups. Posters wheat-pasted on the walls explain some of the more complex questions. Local zines and a regular continentally-distributed newspaper cast current events in a different light. Books and pamphlets are available by mail-order through newspapers and from outlets in some of the larger cities.

The newspaper reaches beyond the movement. It is sold cheaply on street corners, at demonstrations, outside schools, at concerts and on picket lines like dozens of leftist papers. But its lively style, powerful graphics, and raw sense of humor make it far more popular. While the content generally reflects the orientation of the movement, an open and lively letters column serves as a forum for a wide range of views. Paper sales serve as both a fundraiser and organizing tool for local groups. Many new groups start with a few paper sellers getting out and making contact with other interested people. The paper broadens support beyond the youth base by covering a wide range of struggles.

As the movement grows, liberal and leftist groups become more hostile. A few left groups try to recruit from the movement, others move closer to an anarchist orientation. The movement begins to attract the hysterical attention of the capitalist press and the state apparatus. Decentralized organization and attention to security make repressive action difficult. A policy of cultivating friendly relations with other groups helps in building solidarity for targeted individuals. Prisoner support committees not only aid prisoners but build support amongst more moderate sectors of the population.

★★★

This vision of the future is based on the simple proposition that the coming years will see an increase in social struggle as certain crises sharpen up. The smiling facade of Reaganism is cracking. The inherent antagonisms of authoritarian society are rising again to the surface. The authoritarian left is generally demoralized and very disorganized while the right is very well organized. The anarchist movement has grown dramatically in numbers, but is weak in coherence and its ability to respond to the current situation in an organized fashion.

Increase the Pressure!

There is no way we can predict the future but that does not mean we should not prepare for the kind of events we consider likely or significant. The outcome of many struggles may be strongly influenced by how well we prepare for them. The time has come to start organizing around our vision of the coming period. This particular vision is being offered as a starting point. Those who generally agree with this view are encouraged to come together and to revise it. Those who disagree with the general orientation are encouraged to offer an alternative.

Sounds like a whisper

This vision is not intended to suggest that revolution is just around the corner. It probably isn't. But the experience of pushing beyond existing limits will be invaluable when revolution becomes possible. When a revolutionary situation does occur, by its nature, it will be a surprise to everyone. Those who are prepared, those who have learned from earlier struggles, those who are able to share the lessons of the past will strongly influence the direction of events. It is the responsibility of anarchists in a pre-revolutionary period to make the preparations that they can.

Revolutionary Anarchism: Which way forward?

The anarchist movement seems to be divided into two groups of people. Those who like to rip each others' eyes out in what they call "debate" and those who would like to pretend there are no real differences in our movement that need to be resolved if we are to get anything done. These two types almost seem to deserve each other. But the rest of the world deserves something better: an anarchist movement that can debate and resolve its major differences and then go out and make revolution.

This article aims to generate critical yet comradely debate. We must all learn to recognize the difference between our

disagreements with our friends and our enemies. It is hoped that people will take their objections to the suggestions of this paper and put forth alternative visions of the kind of movement we need to build.

The current situation: Growth of the movement

The anarchist movement in North America is entering a new period. The past few years have seen dramatic growth and change within the movement that must be discussed. Many anti-authoritarians who have been active for years are finding the movement around them changing dramatically.

This growth and change is related to changes in society that are driving millions of new people to revolt against various forms of authoritarian rule.

The anarchist movement has grown considerably in numbers. This is witnessed in the role anarchists have been playing in their communities and various broader movements, in the flood of anarchist zines and other periodicals, the continental gatherings and the organization of various coordinated actions.

In the March, 1987, outpouring of resistance to the U.S. troop deployment to Honduras, anarchists played pivotal roles in pushing the anti-war movement forward. In San Francisco, Toronto and Minneapolis, anarchists have made serious contributions to the creation of a fighting movement. At the Pentagon and on the streets of several cities anarchists have pushed a new militancy on the anti-war movement. In Tompkins Square in New York City anarchist squatters were prominent in a fight against gentrification that erupted in a police riot.

The popularity of anarchist ideas in punk and other alternative youth culture is contributing to the emergence of a very different kind of anarchist movement in North America. This article is intended to give voice to the emerging tendency called here Revolutionary Anarchism.

Revolutionary Anarchism is a term intended to include a broad range of ideas and actions within anarchism. Revolutionary Anarchism seeks ruthlessly to uproot existing authoritarian social relations by building a fighting and revolutionary movement. Like nearly all the world's rebels today, we draw inspiration from the struggle of Black people in the U.S. for freedom. Revolutionary anarchism also draws much from Anarcha-Feminism: a commitment to feminist process and to direct action against patriarchy; both within the movement and within society at large.

Revolutionary Anarchism is committed to waging class war against the ruling class: the financial-corporate-military-bureaucratic elite of the world. This war can only be successfully waged if it mobilizes the oppressed majority of humanity to seize direct control of every aspect of their lives from the small minority who currently make the decisions that affect our lives. Revolutionary Anarchism is anti-imperialist. The struggles around the world for national self-determination, in spite of domination by authoritarian leadership, contribute to the material basis for a world without borders.

Revolutionary Anarchism is anti-racist and at the same time it opposes the forced assimilation of national and cultural groups. Revolutionary Anarchism is committed to the ecological defense of the planet. The ecological crisis is rooted in the social organization of industrialism. The social revolution demands a human society in balance with the natural world.

The need for strategy

All these high-sounding ideas are just idle ranting if they do not produce action: movement toward the creation of the society we desire. These ideas are not particularly new. Rather, they are important because there is emerging in the real world a movement that is making them demands and fighting for them. This movement is emerging from a wide range of autonomous forms of revolt.



The oppression of daily life under the existing system gives rise to acts of revolt. At first these acts are simple ones of striking out at our oppressors, of speaking up, of reclaiming what this society steals from us (material goods, culture, time). Eventually some of us come to see the need for collective action: of working with others. This turn toward collective activity gives us the sense of community we need to sustain our resistance and makes our actions more effective. As our collective activity develops we become more conscious of the breadth of our struggles. We move from individual acts of revolt to organizing collective acts of revolt on the local level to seeing the need for global social revolution. At each step our consciousness of the system we are fighting changes, as does our conception of the struggle. The questions we ask ourselves begin with concerns about our personal responsibility for the world and widen to strategic problems that face us if we are to work together.

The conscious development of strategy, of plans for actually smashing authoritarian society in the real world, is essential. If Revolutionary Anarchism is to be a living body of theory that informs the actual struggles of people in the real world, it must articulate not just a critique of existing society, but also the means by which it can be overthrown. If it fails to move people forward in bringing the system down, it becomes just an arcane topic of discussion for a certain social milieu. Revolutionary Anarchism must aim to incite the majority of humanity successfully to make revolution or it is nothing.

Revolutionary Anarchist praxis

The development of a strategy is a continuing process. Our movement must always test its ideas in the real world and modify them in response to their results in the real world. It is also important to draw from the experiences of history. The many struggles of people for control over various aspects of their lives are rich in lessons that can be suicidal to ignore. The moments when revolutionary situations have emerged in different parts of the world must all be studied. To repeat the mistakes of the past is to betray our desires.

The process of testing our ideas against reality makes certain demands of our collective activity. It is not sufficient

to go through life as individuals learning lessons; the process of developing our ideas is a collective activity itself. It is necessary for us to organize the discussion of our activity in a way that allows the broadest participation in the discussion and the broadest dissemination of the lessons drawn from our experiences and study.

It is our efforts as activists that compel us to develop strategy and it is those same efforts that provide the information by which we formulate strategy.

We must rip through the entire body of revolutionary experience in search of lessons that apply to our own activity. Often these lessons have been formulated in ways that make us uncomfortable: in the mystified language of religion and spirituality, in the vernacular of a foreign culture, in the jargon of a political ideology (such as the 57 varieties of Marxism). It is our obligation to ourselves and the planet to extract aspects of these bodies of ideas that can help us win.

If we are to ask the useful questions about our own activity, that activity needs to be understood in the larger general context of the world situation. What are the aspects of authoritarian society that are showing the most vulnerability? What problems facing the maintenance of authoritarian rule offer openings for more generalized revolutionary activity?

The current situation: Imperial Crisis

One useful way of looking at the world is to understand that the domination of the world by an international ruling class is facing a crisis. This crisis shapes the struggles of everybody on the planet. North American anarchists occupy a relatively unique position within this larger crisis because we are so close to the centers of imperial power.

The United States is the most economically and militarily powerful empire on the planet. The U.S. empire is accurately perceived as the number-one enemy of humanity. The Soviet Union and the old empires of Western Europe operate within the context of U.S. hegemony. The nations under U.S. control include the most exploited people of the world. This super-exploitation allows the U.S. to maintain a huge, relatively-privileged social stratum that is very loyal to the demands of the empire.

Around the world people are fighting to throw off the worst aspects of imperi-



al domination. This crisis sharpens struggles within the imperialist countries around other aspects of authoritarian rule. Finally, existing rivalries between the various empires create openings for further revolt, but also threaten us all with inter-imperial and possibly nuclear war. Each of these aspects of a general crisis will have an impact on the conditions under which North American anarchists will be operating. Each aspect deserves further discussion.

The struggles for national liberation

The international political/economic system is organized territorially into nation states. There are a number of imperialist countries which keep the majority of these nation states under the domination of the ruling class of the imperialist countries. This is the product of a period when capitalism seized the wealth of the world through genocide, slavery and colonialism to build the over-industrialized metropolitan centers. The super-exploitation of what has come to be known as the Third World for raw materials and primary industrial production by the

ruling elites of a handful of nation states gives rise to the struggles for national self-determination. These struggles are the product of the international division of labor along national lines. The uneven development of more ruthlessly efficient forms of class rule around the world allowed the ruling classes of what have become the imperialist powers to use the diversity of human culture to divide the world into nation states. It is from this fact that certain nations as a whole occupy a particular position in class society that gives rise to the various forms of nationalism.

In the imperialist countries, nationalist ideology is used to mobilize the broad population to defend the empire from revolt. Patriotism is used to generate allegiance to the military needs of the ruling class of the particular imperial nation. Racism is used to justify the super-exploitation of internal colonies. In both cases significant sections of working people are bought off with relative material privilege and socialized with nationalist ideology to defend the total system. In the imperialist countries nationalism is used to justify the domination of oppressed nationalities.

This national domination is experienced by the oppressed nationalities as white supremacy. The oppressed nationalities find every aspect of their life coming under the domination of the oppressor nation: work, food, culture, language. The response to this domination is initially another type of nationalism: defense of a way of life under attack and a determination to topple the cultural and economic domination by the oppressor nation. Through the process of fighting for national self-determination, members of oppressed nationalities come to see the international nature of both the system they are fighting and struggle against it. As it becomes reality, the limits of national self-determination become more apparent.

Oppressed nationalities contain class antagonisms that sharpen as greater degrees of national self-determination are obtained. The aspiring ruling classes that are the leadership of so many national liberation struggles can only renegotiate the international terms of exploitation for their people. These renegotiations reduce the base from which the

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masses of the oppressor nations can be bought off and provides a base from which the oppressed nationalities can sustain a greater struggle. This international equalization of the material standard of living must be the basis of any honest internationalism.

National struggles take place against the backdrop of the further immiseration of the majority of humanity. As the empires lose control of exploitable territory and have to invest in more military power to suppress new rebellions, they seek to squeeze those still within their grip even more. This only fuels further struggles in a vicious cycle that is bringing the empires down.

It is tempting to pretend that national struggles do not really change things for the oppressed nationalities. As long as anarchists cling to this fiction they will not be speaking to the actual experience of billions of people. While a national struggle may compel a country under U.S. imperial domination to place itself in the orbit of a competing empire, the relative autonomy of the nation and terms of its exploitation are different in ways that reflect, to some degree, the new-found power of ordinary people over their lives. The fact that the people united to throw off the old order acts as a real constraint on the new order.

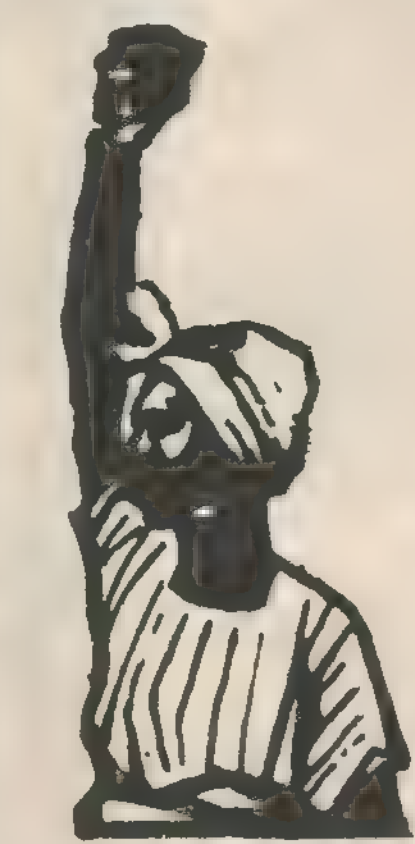
Autonomous revolts in the metropolis

Within the imperialist countries themselves there are significant revolts that threaten the empires. The ghetto rebellions and the movement against the war in Viet Nam in the '60s and early '70s, for example, seriously disrupted the functioning of the empire.

In Western Europe, the Autonomes have connected ecological struggles with an anti-imperialist perspective to build a serious fighting movement. Squatters are challenging the power of landlords, developers and the state by occupying, repairing and defending empty buildings. In Canada and the United States other struggles are more visible. The womyn's movement has built a network of shelters, self-defense workshops and other institutions that seriously challenge the power of the patriarchy. Among workers, employee theft, absenteeism, sabotage and other forms of individual revolt simmer and occasionally explode in wildcat strikes and other organized action. Lesbian and Gay Liberation have expanded the range of accepted human sexuality and have challenged the compulsory heterosexuality of patriarchy.

Black liberation and the struggles of other oppressed nationalities are a persistent focus for revolt. From responses to racist violence to Native land fights to the organizing efforts of farm workers, people of color are fighting some of the most militant struggles.

Revolts within the imperialist countries tend to be driven by two basic forces. One is the contradiction between the materially privileged position of large numbers of people and their life experience of boredom, alienation and powerlessness. No quantity of consumer goodies, of controlled "leisure," can satisfy the basic desire to be free. The social struggles of relatively privileged people are significant because they speak to important questions that face everybody: the breakdown of the environment, social alienation, the disintegra-



tion of any human community. But these struggles often suffer from a narrowness of vision: they fail to acknowledge the very different concerns that face the majority of humanity.

The more basic force driving revolt in the imperialist countries is the decrease in the base for social bribery. Fewer people can be bought off within the imperialist countries. There is simply less plunder to go around. The first victims of this are the oppressed nationalities within the imperialist country itself. This of course fuels national struggles within the imperialist country. Eventually, the ruling class must seek concessions from the privileged white working class. This breeds rebellion among organized workers against the union bureaucracy that is complicit in these concessions. It also fuels the rebellion against boredom, alienation and powerlessness: "If I can't have two cars and a VCR, why should I have to live in this sterile environment? Why should I eat this plastic shit? Why should I pretend?" The superexploitation demanded by imperialism also causes a general ecological crisis that only further fuels revolt in the industrialized countries.

Internal struggles within the ruling class

Finally, the general crisis facing the empires creates divisions and struggles within the ruling class. These take many forms: inter-imperial rivalries (between the U.S. and the Soviet Union), struggles between national states and multinational corporate interests and divisions within an imperialist country over proper management of the empire. These contradictions are constantly shifting and must always be closely watched. Often divisions in the ruling class create openings for revolutionary activity.

The Iran-Contra scandal, for example, reflected a struggle within the U.S. ruling class over whether continued support for the Contra war was the best way to bring Nicaragua back under U.S. domination. In an attempt to force the issue, the Reagan administration sent troops to Honduras to reinforce the Contras. The lack of consensus of support for the Contras led many people to see the deployment as a blatant act of

war-mongering. This division created an opening for some of the most militant anti-war demonstrations since Viet Nam.

Divisions in the ruling class should not be viewed too optimistically. Liberals who opposed the war against Viet Nam were acting to shore up the empire, not to bring it down. These divisions do not turn our enemies into friends. Rather they should be studied for the changes in the general situation that are relevant to our activity.

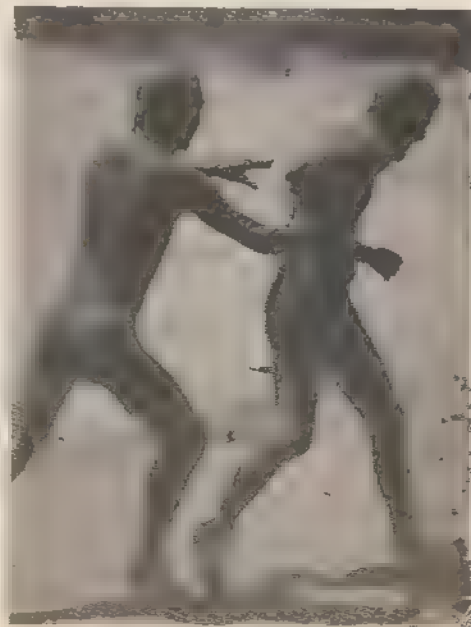
As we build a serious revolutionary movement, we will have to struggle over various interpretations of the world situation and their implications for our activity. We should begin now the research, study and discussion that will allow us to resolve those struggles correctly.

Personal politics: Community and struggle

Anarchists have always sought to address the connection between personal life and making social revolution. Feminism has deepened this understanding, though the lessons are applied inconsistently. The oppression of womyn that occurs in larger society is widely reproduced in the personal interactions that occur within the movement. Every major aspect of womyn's oppression—from being silenced, to getting stuck with the cooking and cleaning, to rape and battering—occurs within the movement. If we are serious about building a movement that is committed to including all oppressed people, we have to address this basic fact. On the one hand, we have to break the silence, quit pretending this shit ain't going on (or that it is somehow inappropriate to bring up) and we must fight against it. On the other hand, we have to work to build within the movement the kind of trusting community that can both nurture the survivors of a sexually violent society and fuel the fight to bring it down.

The struggle around womyn's oppression is only one way in which our personal lives are political. Many anarchists place considerable emphasis on building community: on living lives that use less of the world's resources, that do not involve certain forms of exploitation, on creating alternative institutions. Sometimes, unfortunately, these projects come to replace the struggle to transform the whole world.

Anarchism is always torn between the projects of building human community and destroying existing authoritarian relations. This tension will always be a reality until both projects are realized.



However, there are some views of this tension that need to be challenged by Revolutionary Anarchism.

It is impossible to simply nibble away at authoritarian society by creating alternative institutions that will keep multiplying until they replace existing institutions. This "evolutionary" view is very popular and goes hand in hand with a number of other problematic views.

Cooperatives, collectives and communes can give people invaluable experience in non-authoritarian forms of organization, they can provide valuable services to the movement: food, printing, health care, housing. But they cannot replace capitalism by competing with it within the capitalist system, they simply are not profitable enough to expand to meet the needs of the whole world.

The process of community building has two purposes: first to make life here and now better for ourselves, second to build a base for political struggle. It is the struggle that will create the conditions for real human community. Our efforts to run a bookshop or food coop will look so backward compared to a world where the whole complex of social life—the culture, the streets, the means of production, the food we eat, our sex lives—are in our own hands. Such a world is only possible if its enemies, those who benefit from the world as it is, are decisively defeated.

Because the struggles against patriarchy, against capital, against the state will be prolonged we need to sustain ourselves by building human community as we go. These efforts will always fall short of our desires because they are constrained by the society we live in and the fact that we are products of that society ourselves.

For a fighting movement

There is a potential now to create a fighting anarchist movement: a movement that really acts to bring down the system. The conditions are emerging again in North America for the radicalization of millions of people. Certain struggles are becoming sharper.

This radicalization has a decidedly anti-authoritarian character. People are distrustful of the reformist and "revolutionary" authoritarians. But there is nothing that guarantees that as people come to see the need for revolution that they will not turn, as they have in the past, to the authoritarian sects that swarm around every major revolt. If we want a Revolutionary Anarchist movement we will have to fight for it.

Revolutionary Anarchists can build a fighting movement if we desire. There are large numbers of people who are beginning to fight against this system. If we act decisively, many can be won over to an explicitly revolutionary and anti-authoritarian position.

Small fighting groups could carry out the more audacious acts during urban rebellions, helping to organize the construction of barricades, supplying provisions and medical aid. Anarchists could play a catalytic role in the anti-war movement by organizing fighting actions in conjunction with major mobilizations. Should strikes become more militant, anarchists might be able to offer important solidarity in kicking scab ass on the picket lines. Whatever openings present themselves, we should be

prepared to act. The broad movements are presently very conservative and cautious. They are largely ill-prepared to surge forward when the opportunity arises. By being ready to push when people are ready to fight back, Revolutionary Anarchists can help create the conditions for more general revolt.

Many anarchists will reject this turn towards building a fighting movement. Some will have honest concerns. Others are content with the cozy cliqueishness of the anti-authoritarian milieu: endless internal squabbles are a lot less threatening than actually facing the cops. We should answer the real concerns and not lose sleep over the anarchoologists.

The role of youth

Building a fighting movement at this point in time means acknowledging the central role of youth. For a number of reasons youth are more inclined to take up revolutionary action: they are not as likely to be set in their ways, they are less invested in the system (no kids, house, etc.), they have more energy, they are one of the most exploited sections of the workforce, and they are oppressed as youth by their parents, the schools and the police.

It is youth — young womyn, young people of color, young lesbians and gays, young workers — who will be the hardest fighters in the many movements that might shake this society. If we wish to build a revolutionary anarchist movement with a future we have to turn towards youth.

Anarchism already has a broad appeal among certain sectors of youth, particularly punks. We should seek to broaden this appeal and deepen the understanding of anarchism among youth by consciously directing our energies toward youth.

To place an emphasis on youth at this point in time is not to disregard the general population nor to ice out older anarchists. Rather it is to acknowledge who among all oppressed people will be most receptive to our ideas. Older anarchists have a vital role to play in conveying their experiences, in directing attention to the need for sustainability in the movement and the risks of burnout. But if they are to play this role they will need to overcome whatever prejudices they have about youth culture, they will need to accept that people have to learn lessons for themselves, they will have to overcome their ageism: the tendencies to talk down to youth or to order them around.

An orientation toward youth does not suggest that all youth are equally receptive to revolutionary anarchist politics. Youth share the power and privileges, or the oppression of their various class, race, sex and sexual preference. But even youth born into relative positions of privilege are often more open to the possibility of revolution than their parents.

Consciously directing our activism towards youth means making propaganda that is both accessible and appealing to youth. It means taking on the issues of High Schools, of military recruiters, of minimum wage slavery.

If youth are the future, anarchist youth are the future of anarchism.

Networking and local autonomy

The prospect of trying to develop a general strategy for the revolutionary anarchist movement raises important concerns for many people. Will such efforts compromise the autonomy of local

activity? Isn't this just so much pie-in-the-sky? How do we prevent the emergence of authoritarian power struggles over these questions? These questions are rooted in real experiences with efforts to coordinate anarchist activity beyond the local level.

Continental work is vital. There is a strong tendency that says only local work is important. This needs to be challenged. As we carry out campaigns on various issues it frequently becomes clear that certain struggles cannot be won on the local level. The war machine cannot be brought down in Minneapolis, or Detroit, or Vancouver alone.

Practically, we need to carry on coordinated work beyond our localities. We need to be able to share the lessons of our activities. We need to be able to turn to each other for reliable legal defense work and prison solidarity. We need to be able to distinguish local idiosyncracies from general developments in society.

By working together on common activities (the gatherings, *MAYDAY*, a continental newspaper, joint actions) we develop a body of common experience we can refer to in deciding what to do locally. Without those common experiences, we often don't even speak the same language.

Many anarchists are isolated in places with few (or no) other anarchists. For them continental activity may be a lifeline that sustains them.

Local work and continental work should be complementary. Continental work should offer valuable lessons that can be applied locally. It should encourage isolated individuals to initiate local activity. A continental paper can multiply the impact of a local action by conveying the lessons to the broader movement. Coordinated actions should invigorate groups that are in a rut. Small local groups that cannot afford to produce their own propaganda would benefit from continentally-distributed stuff.

Continental work should not be seen just as an aid to local activity. It has its own value. It makes anarchism more visible to people in many other movements.

Anarchist participation in the anti-war movement is instructive. For years individual black flags have fluttered over anti-war demonstrations. We would go to these huge boring demonstrations and wonder why we didn't stay home. But in the past two years anarchists have asserted themselves in the anti-war movement. We were major participants in the militancy of the protests against the invasion of Honduras, the Pentagon "blockade" and protests against the Salvadorean elections. Our tactics have become one of the biggest topics of debate within the movement. A significant section of the anti-war movement has turned to more of a fighting posture.

The temptation to just do local work can be problematic. There is a real tendency to focus in on a winnable local issue and thereby disregard the more vexing problems of defeating the empire. This often feeds into a type of reformism that fosters the illusion that we can tackle the huge problems facing the planet one-by-one: first the toxic waste dump, then the local slumlord, etc. . . .

Many activists are concerned that continental work might compromise the cherished autonomy of local groups. This is absurd. Any genuine continental work must emerge from local activists and obtain the support of other local activists. There is no anarchist apparatus that can enforce its decisions on a local group. Continental work is nothing if it is not autonomous local groups coming

together because they believe there is something to gain by working together.

One aspect of the local autonomy question does need to be addressed: localism. Localism is the ideology that says that the only meaningful activity is at the smallest possible level. Localism says that the purpose of any coordinated activity beyond the local level should be simply to serve local groups. This presumes that any local anarchist group is a good thing in itself, regardless of its impact outside its own small circle. Revolutionary Anarchism must reject localism. The function of local groups must include successfully mobilizing the local population to revolutionary activity. Such activity can not be successful unless it is occurring everywhere. It is therefore the responsibility of strong local groups to support continental projects that can reach beyond our local bases of strength.

Building the local movement

The foundation of a fighting movement will be autonomous local fighting groups. These groups must be firmly rooted in their local situation. Fighting groups cannot survive as more than fanatic sects if they don't build meaningful alliances with broader forces in their community. A fighting group must understand when and where people are feeling frustrated with the more cautious and conservative organizations. That understanding can only come from participating in the broader local movement, wherever it is.

A fighting group cannot be built by declaring it into being. Only through the hard work of building a base of support, of testing our ideas in the streets, of listening to people we disagree with, of persistent and thoughtful propaganda, of organizing, can such groups be built.

Continental projects

There are a number of common projects that seem to have the potential to help build a revolutionary anarchist movement in North America. Such projects must serve as the base of any attempt to build a cohesive continental organization. By working together on various individual projects we will come to know and trust each other. We will learn what are the differences and common ground in our politics. We will develop a body of common experience and language which can be used to discuss future common activity.

The Chicago, Minneapolis and Toronto anarchist gatherings have done more than anything else to give anarchists a consciousness of themselves as a movement. (This article was written prior to the 1989 San Francisco Gathering.) By coming together to argue, eat, socialize, dance and demonstrate we have gotten to know each other much better.

If they are to remain lively and not stagnate we need to be critical in planning future gatherings. The movement is changing and the gatherings should change to meet its needs. The potential is emerging for the gatherings to take on the function of laying plans for the next year's coordinated activity. The time we spend together at these gatherings is precious, we should plan our workshops accordingly. Workshops should not be planned just to satisfy whoever is putting it on but to meet a need in the movement.

The *MAYDAY* newsletter project that came out of the Minneapolis gathering is a promising development. Regular communication about what we are doing is

essential to building the movement. If the function of reporting on our local actions is usurped by a continental newspaper, *MAYDAY* might continue as a bulletin for more theoretical articles and internal discussion within the movement.

There have been and will be many opportunities for the anarchist movement to organize or participate actively in regional, national or continental demonstrations. Such efforts should be of the highest priority because they give us the opportunity to put our words into practice.

We might also choose to launch a campaign around a particular issue (the elections, nazi-skinheads, ozone depletion) to project an anti-authoritarian perspective into public consciousness.

An indispensable tool for building the kind of fighting revolutionary anarchist movement discussed here will be a regular mass circulation newspaper. Such a project would have two essential aims:

First, to reach large numbers of youth and revolutionarily inclined activists with an accessible anti-authoritarian analysis of current events.

Second, to bring together those groups and individuals already committed to building an explicitly mass revolutionary anarchist movement in North America. The tasks of writing, editing, production and distribution on a monthly basis would bring to the surface the real questions that face our movement and force us to grapple with them.

A continental newspaper should not be based on some lowest common denominator anarchism — it needs to reflect a clear vision of how we are going to speak to the real struggles that are involving millions of people right now. This doesn't mean some arbitrary "correct line," but it does mean an activist orientation. We do not need another rag for armchair anarchists.

Conclusion

The anarchist movement often seems to be in a permanent shambles. Many anarchists almost seem to take pride in being perennial losers. If the anarchist movement is going to seize the opportunities presented by its recent growth and potential for still greater growth we will have to get our shit together.

Ineffectiveness, irrelevance and obscurity have been raised to the level of principle by many self-proclaimed anarchists. There is little point in denouncing such sad developments. They will only be undone when a determined group sets out to show another way. What is needed now is the courage to shrug off the defeatism of the past few decades with a new understanding: that we can win! What is needed is the courage to leave the warm comfort of the anarchist milieu for the uncertain and exciting future that faces those who aim to make revolution. What is needed is the courage to bring people into the streets against the armed power of the state.

What is needed is an anarchist movement with its feet in the present and its eyes toward the future instead of the past. It is up to each of us to do what we can to make this vision real.

Anarchists have a choice. We can continue on as a small, comfortable and insulated countercultural milieu or we can tap into growing anti-authoritarian sentiment and embrace the risks of contending with the power structure. The anarchist milieu is about as warm and tolerant as a community can be under an authoritarian social system. The pleasure of that freedom is but a slight taste of what life can be if we choose to transform the world. The choice is ours. □

U.S. & Soviet Anti-Nuclear-Test Activists Unite

"It is quite evident that the striving of the people of one country to stop nuclear testing and nuclear war and to address the problems of disarmament is not enough today. Only joint action can save our planet. Only by coordinating our activities and uniting our efforts can we avoid nuclear holocaust."

From the Soviet "Nevada Movement" statement of solidarity to the U.S. peace movement during joint coordinated August 6-9 actions commemorating the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Friends—

We are writing to pass on a call for joint actions against nuclear testing and the arms race on September 24, 1989, the fortieth anniversary of Soviet nuclear weapons testing. The call has been initiated by the Nevada Movement—a new independent grassroots peace group in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, where the primary Soviet nuclear weapons test site is located. Early this August, the American Peace Test received a call from a member of the Nevada Movement, who told us of their planned action/demonstration at the Soviet nuclear test site in Kazakhstan, Soviet Union, on September 24, and asked us to demonstrate in solidarity in our country.

The effects of Soviet nuclear testing in Kazakhstan—radioactive gas ventings from underground tests and fallout from above-ground tests

conducted before 1963—have devastated the ecology of the region and the health of its residents, similar to the Nevada Test Site. Out of this legacy, residents have organized a huge multi-racial grassroots movement committed to change "from below." In May, a group of us from Bay Area Peace Test met with Murat Auzov, an organizer from the Nevada Movement. We found his strong sense of excitement, commitment, and optimism contagious.

At the initiative of the Nevada Desert Experience and the Bay Area Peace Test, joint U.S./Soviet actions took place on August 6-9 to commemorate Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Numerous actions took place at U.S. Department of Energy (DOE)—the federal agency that produces and test nuclear weapons) facilities across the U.S. (including the Nevada Test Site), and at the Soviet Test Site in Kazakhstan.

Already, plans in response to this September 24 call for action are exciting. A demonstration is planned at the Nevada Test Site. In San Francisco, we are planning a demonstration at the Soviet Consulate, and the following day at the DOE. Also in San Francisco, a delegation representing a number of local and national peace movement organizations and the National Association of Radiation Survivors will visit the Soviet Consulate to assert the five demands of the Nevada Movement, and also visit the DOE to demand an end to nuclear weapons production and testing and a redirection of the resources spent on nuclear weapons to address the resultant damage to health and the environment. A demon-

stration at the Soviet Consulate will take place in Bonn, West Germany, and there will be a nonviolent direct action at the NATO European Command in Stuttgart, West Germany. There will also be an action against Soviet and U.S. targets in New York City.

We are sending this call to peace groups and activists in the U.S., Canada, Poland, and Great Britain, as well as to American Peace Test and to North American East-West Network lists. We are also making an effort to contact and involve French, Chinese, and Tahitian-Polynesian activists (all nuclear testing countries, except Tahiti-Polynesia, which is a victim of French testing).

The Bay Area Peace Test is a regional alliance of activists and groups committed to ending the arms race, stopping the destruction of the environment, and creating a just society through nonviolent direct action. We are affiliated with the American Peace Test and have participated in organizing recent mass nonviolent direct actions and encampments at the Nevada Test Site.

For a World Without Superpowers, Borders and Wars!

David Solnit
Bay Area Peace Test
c/o 1998 25th St.
San Francisco, CA 94107 USA
415-641-4095

The Soviet Nevada Movement

ON February 28, 5,000 people filled the Hall of the Writers' Union and overflowed out onto the street for the first public meeting that gave birth to the Nevada Movement. The previous day, well known Kazakh poet O. Suleymenov had used an appearance on television, in which he was expected to read poetry, to read a statement against nuclear testing, and to announce the public meeting the following day. The meeting adopted an International Appeal, including the five demands of the Nevada Movement.

Independent grassroots groups and activities are flourishing in the Soviet Union. The Nevada Movement is the largest of these groups in

Kazakhstan and the first organized opposition to nuclear weapons testing. The Nevada Movement, which includes people from all five ethnic groups in Kazakhstan, has a strong sense of the connections between testing/militarism, the environment, and the economy, and that ending testing is part of a much larger task of changing society. Murat said that they were new to this sort of thing (grassroots organizing), but related a strong sense of excitement, optimism, and commitment.

The Nevada Movement's activities have included:

- A large contingent with disarmament signs in the May Day parade.
- They are in the process of making an independent report on the devastating effects of radiation on residents of Kazakhstan. It will, in part, be based on the numerous letters they have received about people who have become sick or died as a result of radiation.

- They have a bank account and received lots of donations, including several from co-ops (a new phenomenon).
- There have been no tests for two months; many believe this is due to the Nevada Movement.
- They hope in the future to put out a paper and create a fund for victims of radiation.
- They are planning a large congress of the Nevada Movement in late summer or early fall.
- They have been making international contacts with other groups who they hope to work with in the future.

Nevada Movement
c/o Union of Writers of Kazakhstan Alma Ata
Kommunisticheskyy Prospekt 105, Kazakhstan, USSR

Statement of the USSR's "Nevada" Movement

Brothers and Sisters:

On February 12 and 17, 1989 during the test of atomic equipment in the Semipalatinsk area (Kazakhstan, USSR) a release of radioactive gas took place. We cannot be silent.

The atom has been exploded on our Earth for more than 40 years. Not only the inhabitants of the Semipalatinsk region suffer from it—the nuclear test site is situated in the middle of the country. But at this time perhaps nobody in the world is more directly influenced by the radiation than we are, the inhabitants of the multinational region of Kazakhstan. Our average life expectancy has been shortened by almost four years during the last decade. The level of mortality is twice as high as the birth-rate. One of the main reasons the people are dying is the radiation. It affects everyone with no differentiation according to nationality, age, or religion. Every explosion on the Semipalatinsk test site may create a catastrophe more dreadful than that in Chernobyl.

We can't wait for doomsday without speaking out! We're accustomed to fighting for peace in the world. Now we understand that everyone must fight for peace in his own land. We have organized a "Nevada" public movement.

Our demands are:

1. Close the test site in Kazakhstan.
2. Curtail the enterprises in the republic producing nuclear materials for military purposes and redirect their financial means and power to repair the damage done to nature and to our people.
3. Establish public control of atomic industry waste burial sites.
4. Commence the work on the ecological map of Kazakhstan and other republics, leading to defined "dead" areas and excluding them from economic production to start work on their restoration. At present, we call for prohibition of grain growing and cattle pasturing.
5. The III Head Department of the USSR Health Ministry must release its secrets and publish the number of radiation victims in our country.

We call our movement "Nevada" in hope of uniting our efforts with those who share our ideas, some of whom are demonstrating at the atomic test site in the USA. Let them entitle their movement after Semipalatinsk or Kazakhstan.

There are many sister-cities. Let these two much-suffering regions—the Semipalatinsk region (Kazakhstan) and Nevada state fraternize.

We note our frustration with the failure of the testing Moratorium decreed by Mikhail Sergei Gorbachev in 1986. The Moratorium was considered in the West only as a political move of a new leadership. We address the leadership of the USSR. The country has again made steps towards disarmament: the destruction of a type of missile, the reduction of the army, and the decrease in the number of conventional armaments. The effect of these humane activities can be successively widened by the twin measures of reducing the production and testing of the next generation of nuclear armaments.

In the process of our growing democracy the people's opinion gains power and range. Everything that happens on this Earth affects us all. The political weather of superstates is able to change. Our task is to change the whole political climate and make it more favorable to humankind. Only by uniting our efforts may we, the people, help ourselves survive in this still green world after a difficult struggle.

The international anti-nuclear movement, including the opponents of atomic Moloch in the USA, the USSR, France, Great Britain and China, will help compel the state governments, the members of the

atomic club, to sign the agreement on the final prohibition of atomic tests anywhere. This is our first aim!

The next aim is to sign the treaty on the prohibition of the production and improvement of atomic weapons. We can then call for an international solution to the problem of dangerous radioactive waste burial.

The fatal 20th Century is at its ebb! Let the age of mankind not come to an end!

Let the fate of millions of living people not depend on the solution of those who sit in their cabinets.

The explosion of people's indignation, consciousness and hope are all against the atomic explosions!

With the appeal to unite, we address all the organizations and people interested in the aims of our movement.

We look forward to receiving suggestions for joint actions. Send them to this address: The Union of Writers of Kazakhstan Alma-Ata, Kommunisticheskyy Prospekt, 105, Kazakhstan, USSR.

The appeal read by O. Suleymenov has been unanimously adopted by the participants of the first meeting of the initiative group of the "Nevada" Movement of February 28, 1989 in Alma-Ata. At the meeting O. Suleymenov was elected Chairman of the "Nevada" Movement.

Nevada Test Site is on stolen Indian land.

The Nevada Test Site was created illegally in 1951 by an executive order of President Truman in violation of Shoshone land rights and the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley. We never agreed to give our land to the United States. This is Shoshone land. Its use by the United States for nuclear testing is a blatant violation of law and of our civil and property rights. We cannot help but see that the United States and other nuclear powers are testing their most destructive weapons on other peoples' lands. We have a map of the world showing how all atomic and nuclear tests have been conducted on the territory of native peoples who cannot prevent the larger and more technologically powerful nations from doing this to them.

The Western Shoshone National Council is committed to stopping nuclear testing and the nuclear arms race.

Raymond Yowell
Western Shoshone National Council



!Por el sindicalismo libre,
por la libre iniciativa,
por los derechos humanos,
por la democracia directa
de los trabajadores y
por la protección ecológica!

nuncias.
asumir de dicho comité ante estas de-

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con el fin de tomar rápidas medidas al
tatal Central de Trabajadores de Cuba,
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con dirigentes del CCPC, funcionarios
venido realizando reuniones secretas
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rector del Comité Estatal de Trabajo y
las peñmas condiciones de trabajo, el di-
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A consecuencia de la llegada al exte-
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cen la atmósfera en un área residencial
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de Matanzas, no sólo afectan la salud de
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Las fábricas de CUBANITRO y RAYON-
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Angel Donato
Martinez

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del río Almendares ha traído como con-
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contribuyendo al desastre ecológico de
por las compañías capitalistas de antaño,
igual forma que cuando eran explotadas
de manera inconsciente y deliberada, de
sus desperdicios en el río Almendares,
regional Marianao, desahúan y arrojan
rías de La Lisa y Puentes Grandes del

Varias fábricas localizadas en las ba-
Habana.
llas) barrada de El Cerro, provincia
Detergentes Químicos (antigua Cruse-
4) Fábrica de Jabonera, Perfumería y
Habana.
3) Textilera Ariguanabo, provincia
provincia de Matanzas.
2) Rayonera, barrada de Versalles,
provincia de Matanzas.
CUBANITRO, barrada de de Versalles,
1) Fábrica de Fertilizantes Químicos
nan las zonas donde radican:
además de afectar la ecología contami-
trahumanas de producción, las cuales
trol de seguridad y bajo condiciones in-
a una alta nocividad con muy poco con-
en donde los trabajadores son expuestos
a contaminación, son ejemplos palpables
Las fábricas e industrias enumeradas
nes del trabajo.

En los últimos siete años han ocurrido
mas de cinco mil accidentes en el MINAS
(Ministerio de la Industria Nacional
Azucarera) solamente en Santiago de
Cuba, con un saldo de veinte y una vícti-
mas como consecuencia de los mismos.
En la ciudad de Sancti Spiritu, muer-
ron recientemente nueve obreros debido
a la explosión de una fábrica de volado-

El 80% de las fábricas e industrias que
operan en la actualidad en Cuba, tienen
las mismas maquinarias, sistemas de
producción y sistemas de seguridad in-
dustrial que cuando operaban de mane-
ra privada hace más de 30 años. La falta
de mantenimiento, la sobreproducción
a la que son sometidas, y las pocas medi-
das de seguridad para el trabajador, se
suman para entegararnos un total de falta
de condiciones de trabajo a que son ex-

En un reciente informe enviado al ex-
terior, hicimos públicas las nefastas con-
diciones de trabajo en las que operan los
obreros bajo el Estado totalitario cuba-

En 1987, en el mes de febrero, fueron
fusilados en Camagüey los obreros fe-
rreros: Ernesto Llanes Sotolongo y
Efraín Montero Quezada, engordando
la lista de asesinados en defensa de los
derechos obreros.

En 1986, fue fusilado el activista sindi-
calista Rafael Aquino Limonta, trabaja-
dor de la fábrica Ron Caney de Santiago
de Cuba, asesinado por intento de huel-
ga laboral.

En 1984, el obrero agrícola Ramón
de Ramón Toledo y Armando Hernán-
dez también fueron condenadas.

do y Timoteo Toledo Lugo, fueron con-

Cardo, Jesús Varela, Israel López To-
los hermanos Daniel, Carlos y Jorge
activistas en el movimiento sindicalista,
des González. El resto de los campesinos
món Toledo Lugo y Armando Hernán-
vistas son fusilados, los campesinos Ra-
la provincia Habanas. Dos de sus acti-
en el pueblo de San José de las Lajas en
miento agro-sindicalista se lleva a cabo
En 1982, un primer intento de movi-

obrero agrícola Emilio Relova Cardulís.
frente al paredón de fusilamiento, el
año fue asesinado otro activista obrero
de sabotaje industrial. En ese mismo
en la espera de su fusilamiento acusado
muerte) en la prisión Cominabio del Es-
nen a los castigados y a los condenados a
muerte" (instalación en la que manite-
comunicado en el "rectángulo de la
obrero habia estado preso dos años, in-
gar de su asesinato. El joven activista
destinada a trasladar presos) hasta el lu-
rrera" o celular (celda intrahumana
bana, desnudo y esposado en una "pe-
prisión Cominabio del Este en La Ha-
pues de haber sido trasladado desde la
rio de 24 años Omar Villavicencio, des-
vincia de Camagüey, el obrero ferrovia-
En el año 1981, fue fusilado en la pro-
inspección corporal).

El año 1981, fue fusilado en la pro-
inspección corporal).

apareció misteriosamente muerte en una
celda del Departamento de Seguridad
del Estado (cita en Villa Marista), mien-
tras le realizaban los interrogatorios. El
reporte oficial del caso fue suicidio (es
bueno señalar que tanto en el momento
de la detención, como antes de entrar a
las celdas, los/as prisioneros/as son me-
ticularmente registrados, incluyendo la

CUBA — ¿Estado Proletario?

NEWS FROM SOVIET BLOC NEWS FROM SOVIET BLOC NEWS FROM SOVIET BLOC

(Continued from page 9)

by the independent Women's Union. "Men are afraid of retaliation in
the army should they participate in this. After returning from the army
they are in a state of depression, not wanting to think about anything.
Therefore men must be defended by women."

In Tartu, University students have boycotted the compulsory military
instruction which involves both sexes. The students won and now don't
have to take military classes. A protest movement has also emerged to
close down the military airport near this Estonian city.

For more information, contact: Ms. Katrin Linde, Women's Union,
Olevimägi 14, Tallinn, Estonia (tel. 442538 or 449216) or Alex Lotman,
Verni 63-6, Tartu 202400, Estonia (tel. 32388 — home, 30115 — work).

April anti-militarist demonstration at draft office in
Tallinn, Estonia.

happening—in fact there's nothing special to describe. There was about
500 people, only young or very young, who were marching thru the cen-
ter of the town carrying some more or less funny transparents and
shouting absurd slogans—such things often happen in Poland now. But
what was really good and important is this; that the happening occurred
at all! In Gdansk or Warsaw it would've been nothing surprising, but in
such a town as Kielce, where the youth used to think only about vodka,
football, or going for trade to Turkey, such an "explosion" of sponta-
neous activity gave me a big dose of optimism.

Some time ago me and my friends organized another happening, a
comical one. We sat down at the front of the building of the Party Com-
mittee with red flags, several kilograms of Lenin's books and other com-
munist fetishes. We decided not to do anything, just sit quietly and read
the books. We were waiting for the reaction. Soon it came. The Party
people didn't know what to do with us, they were completely shocked by
us and our behavior. At last they invited us to the building, were really
overnice to us and gave us alot of fun.



FUN! FUN! FUN!
When leaving we were so lifted up that we decided to "conquer" an-
other committee this time the Citizens Committee of "Solidarność."
WILD YOUTHS
We stood out front of it, on the main street of the town and started to
sell Lenin's works. In a few minutes there appeared a man from the
Committee of "Solidarność" who threw us away, because, as he said:
"People came to the Committee to complain that some mean, commu-
nist, insolent boys were selling Lenin's books."
That overcame our expectations. We laughed to death!
We moved to the other side of the street and started all over again. We
affected the people very much, there was still a crowd around us, no-
body knew how to treat us—did we escape from a madhouse? But some
people guessed it was a happening and thanks to it we managed to sell 10
books! That was a very exciting experience

From big laughs to breathtaking action.

SOCIALIST SURREALISM

IN POLAND

In a letter to On Gogol Boulevard, Anarchist Intercities activist
Adam Nawierski tells of fun and games he and pals had
with both the Communist Party and Solidarity.

I'VE received On Gogol Boulevard — thanks alot. I'm impatiently
waiting for the next issue.

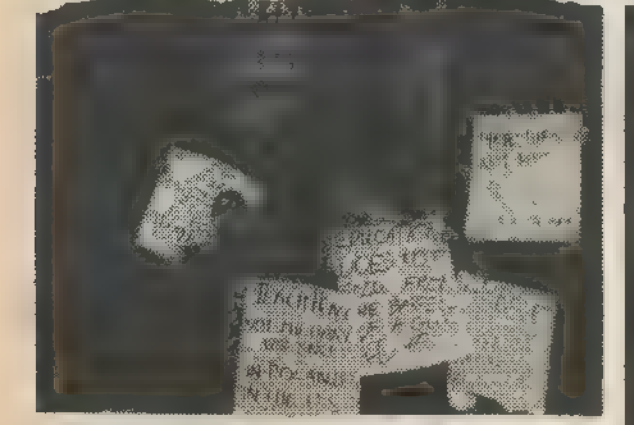
You asked me to let you know how was our "Orange Alternative"*

It conjures up visions

But the form of socialist-surrealist happenings in Poland seems to
have come to its end now. It has become to popular, ordinary and over-
used. It's a pity, but this is the nature of things. Its time to invent some
other way of exploring reality.

GREETINGS
Adam Nawierski

* "Socialist surrealism" group that stages satirical happenings in Poland. "Orange"
is the "Alternative" between the Catholic Church's white and the Communist Par-
ty's red!



New York Direct Action Correspondence picket at NYC
Polish Consulate, June 12, in support of Poland's
"Movement" group. Movement is protesting forced
military education in Polish high schools.

Soviet Political Prisoner writes. . . . from Svoboda — zine of Moscow's Free Initiative

Hi, an so forth —
The reason for the following is that I want to tell the story of one pa-
tient who started a hunger strike on February 9, 1989, for the sake of his
human dignity — here is his statement:

I, Laptev, Anatoli Sergeyevich am declaring a hunger strike as of
February 9 knowing full well the suffering I am calling upon myself.
Smolensk oblast, Sychevka Hospital
215 280. Y0-100/7.5 Otd. USSR

I wrote you in a previous letter about a patient who was injected and
died not long ago. I saw this much—he was working with me until meal-
time, and then at the meal he went back to the ward and raised a scandal.
As usual, they prescribed aminazin for him. After the injection he died.
That was October 31, 1988, in the 14th ward. His name is N. Stankevich.
Yes, with the change of attendants things have gotten noticeably bet-
ter, but the administration and doctors have remained the same and that
often leads to conflicts.

Indeed, you probably know that communication now happens by tel-

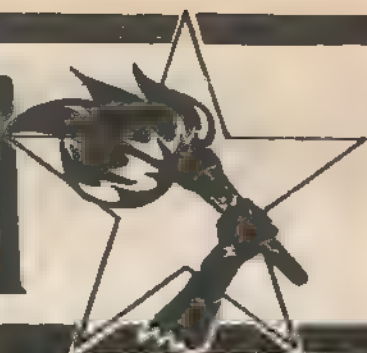
ephone—but for us, since February 6, we have had a quarantine-pa-
rox. Evidently Yermak is afraid that flu microbes will be transmitted by
the telephone wires.

Goodbye,
Sergei Troyanski
Smolenskaya oblast
Sychevka, Institution Ya-0-100/7 Special Psychiatric Hospital 8 old.
USSR

Feel free to write to Sergei
To demand his release write:
Mikhail Gorbachev, Kremlin, Moscow, USSR



Members of Moscow's Free Initiative, left to right:
Kostya Oskin, Yuri Popov, Tanya Koshevnikova.



La Cuestión Sobre Un Periódico Mensual Anarquista

Por NED DAY

EL MOVIMIENTO anarquista en Norteamérica encara unas interrogantes muy serias en los próximos años. Muchos de estas interrogantes se reducen a la opción entre dos rutas: ¿Continuamos como un grupo pequeño, amistoso, confortable y aislado que participa ocasionalmente en varias protestas sociales? O ¿apuntamos a alcanzar un número grande de gente y a construir un movimiento viable que es tanto revolucionario así como antiautoritario? Este panfleto hace el argumento por la construcción de un periódico anarquista mensual continental basado en el apoyo de los grupos locales e individuos a través del continente. Arguye que la ruta segunda es posible y necesaria. Comienza con una evaluación de la situación corriente del movimiento anarquista. Continúa con una discusión de cómo un periódico puede ayudar al movimiento a confrontar algunas de sus debilidades. Concluye con algunos pensamientos sobre algunas de las cuestiones prácticas que confronta tal proyecto ambicioso.

La situación corriente

El movimiento anarquista ha crecido dramáticamente en los últimos pocos años. Este crecimiento abre muchas posibilidades para nuestro movimiento. Desafortunadamente el movimiento permanece constreñido por las limitaciones del período anterior. El identificar y el sobrepasar estas limitaciones es el primer paso en el proceso de articular una estrategia coherente para el movimiento anarquista en Norteamérica.

El movimiento anarquista de hoy es muy distinto al movimiento anarquista de hace cinco años en varios aspectos importantes. La bancarrota de la izquierda autoritaria (claramente ampliificada por los eventos recientes en China) ha atraído a mucha gente con mente revolucionaria hacia el anarquismo. Los militantes involucrados en muchos otros movimientos: antiintervención, ecología, mujeres, antirracismo y otros han venido a verse a sí mismos como anarquistas. La alternativa punk ha traído a miles de jóvenes en contacto con el anarquismo.

El segundo, este crecimiento cuantitativo ha resultado en cambios cualitativos en el movimiento. Cuando el movi-

miento era más pequeño, era el hogar confortable para un grupo no muy pequeño de sectarios. Un gran número de la gente nueva en el movimiento son activistas serios. El anarquismo no es únicamente una colección de teorías abstractas para ser debatidas. Ello es una práctica viva de lucha en el mundo por una vida mejor.

Tercero, hay una red más fuerte de anarquistas ahora que hace cinco años. En el pasado había varias organizaciones (the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation y the Anarchist Communist Federation) que buscaban el vincular grupos e individuos en Norteamérica. Como máximo, estas "federaciones" se encontraban unidas alrededor de conceptos teóricos, pero nunca alrededor de actividad práctica en ninguno de los movimientos de masa. En contraste, la situación de hoy se ha revertido. La MAYDAY Network of Anarchists es el tipo de organización más relajada y más "informal," sin embargo, reúne a gente alrededor de trabajo organizativo real: las manifestaciones en las convenciones republicana y demócrata y la acción en el Pentágono. Las reuniones anarquistas anuales de las cuales la MAYDAY Network ha emergido, también han construido un nivel relativamente alto de unidad práctica. La creación de redes de "trabajo" alrededor del Bloque Oriental y actividad de solidaridad de la cárcel es también algo de mucho ánimo. The Obnoxious Wimmings Network, The Queer Anarchist Network y otros indican un deseo fuerte de compartir información y coordinar actividad.

Cuarto, hay una frescura a la política. Hay una refutación desafiante a ser encadenado a formulaciones anarquistas del pasado. Mientras que la gente

continúa estudiando la historia del movimiento en México, en la Ukrania y en España, ellos no se definen por medio del pasado, sino por medio del futuro. Algunas veces esto es causa de confusiones serias sobre toda cuestión importante de teoría. Pero esta confusión es característica de debate y de discusión en cualquier movimiento verdaderamente viviente. Yo preferiría tener ésta sobre la precisión teórica de un círculo de debate sectario.

Mientras que el estado del movimiento anarquista ha mejorado considerablemente en los últimos años, no se debería pintar un cuadro demasiado bonito. Hay una tendencia angustiante en el movimiento a decir de que estamos haciendo las cosas esencialmente correctas, que todo va bien. Los problemas más grandes son transformados en virtudes por medio "antiautoritario" engañoso. Los grupos pequeños desorganizados e inefectivos se hacen "grupos de afinidad." Una lista fotocopia de teléfono se hace una "red." La falla a coordinar acciones efectivamente más allá del nivel local es llamada "descentralismo." Un movimiento que es prácticamente blanco no puede parar de fantasearse acerca de su "diversidad." Y yo podría continuar. El problema acá es

doble. Los problemas reales se les permite a que se conviertan en problemas peores, y las ideas y las lecciones importantes de nuestra historia pierden su significado. Grupos de afinidad, el descentralismo y la diversidad son vitales para cualquier visión de una revolución anarquista social. Cuando son usados para disculparse porque el movimiento está desorganizado únicamente se desacreditan.

El movimiento anarquista tiene un problema muy grande con "la tiranía de la falta de estructura." Una ideología antiorganizativa es ampliamente influyente aun donde no se acoge concientemente. Esta ideología alimenta y protege élites informales dentro del movimiento, élites que son compuestas, tal es en la sociedad en general, generalmente por hombres blancos vocíferos.

Los próximos cinco años es posible que incluyan algunos levantamientos de gran importancia en Norteamérica. La furia en la comunidad Afroamericana está hirviendo en muchas ciudades. El movimiento sobre Centroamérica está tomando más formas de acción directa ya que un arreglo se está preparando en El Salvador. La población de los destituidos todavía está creciendo y el movimiento

(Continúa en la página 4)

RESISTENCIA EN CUBA

véa página 2

Un Examen del Leninismo —

Conclusión

véa página 3

Por WILLIAM FALK

El proyecto del periódico anarquista avanzó algunos pasos este verano. En julio, antes de la Asamblea Anarquista en San Francisco, un periódico de 16 páginas, *Writing on the Wall*, fue sacado por los apoyadores del proyecto en Chicago. El periódico, aunque no parece muy bonito en mi opinión, contiene algunos artículos excelentes. Estos incluyen una contribución de Boston sobre la lucha por los derechos reproductivos, un informe sobre una lucha por los derechos de los Americanos Indígenas, impresiones de la celebración del 20mo aniversario de la Rebelión de Stonewall en Nueva York, breves noticias sobre las huelgas contra Eastern Airlines y Pittston, un examen sobre la condición del ambiente, y un artículo sobre acciones contra el racismo. El periódico también incluye una historia sobre el proyecto del periódico anarquista y una declaración propuesta de unidad para la publicación proyectada. El periódico fue el segundo esfuerzo de prueba, parte del proceso del trabajar cooperativamente y el descubrir lo que se necesita para sacar un periódico en conjunto. Para recibir un ejemplar, escriba al: *Writing on the Wall*, c/o Theatre Oobleck, 3829 N. Broadway, Chicago, IL 60613; o a mí al: Box 1288, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Para recibir un ejemplar del primer esfuerzo de prueba, *RAGE!*, sacado por el contingente anarquista al Bloqueo del Pentágono, octubre del 1988, escriba a mí.

Un otro paso adelante en el proyecto ocurrió en la Asamblea misma, donde apoyadores se reunieron para determinar una fecha para la conferencia fundadora del periódico anarquista men-

sual. La reunión tendrá lugar en la fin de semana de Thanksgiving en Chicago. Tres números de un boletín de discusión se publicarán para fomentar discusión antes y durante la conferencia. Solamente los que están en pro del lanzar un periódico en este tiempo estarán bienvenidos a la reunión; la cuestión de si el periódico es un buen idea o no no se discutirá.

Al juzgar de las discusiones hasta hoy día, el periódico no tratará de ser, y no querrá de ser, un periódico inclusivo del movimiento anarquista. En vez de esto, representará una corriente, aunque una bastante amplia, dentro del movimiento anarquista y antiautoritario de hoy.

Además de gente que ahora apoya la LSR, entre los apoyadores del proyecto del periódico hay individuos y grupos a los cuales reconozcan lectores regulares del *Torch/La Antorcha*. Por ejemplo, uno de los promotores importantes del proyecto es la Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League of Minneapolis (RABL), y un documento preparado a

través de discusiones entre los miembros de RABL aparece en las páginas 11-15 de este número del *Torch*. Un segundo documento, también por Ned Day de RABL (aunque no fue discutido por el grupo antes de su publicación), aparece en esta número de *La Antorcha*.

Los apoyadores del proyecto del periódico también incluyen anarquistas en Oakland, California, cuyos informes sobre las acciones en pro de derechos reproductivos y en contra del racismo y militarismo aparecieron destacadamente en los números del 15 de marzo y del 15 de mayo del *Torch/La Antorcha*, y quienes prepararon una página en el número de junio sobre la rebelión reciente en Berkeley. Una nota de Bob McGlynn en la sección "News from Soviet Bloc" de este mes señala su deseo de preparar una sección similar en el periódico proyectado.

Este número del *Torch/La Antorcha*, sacado el 1 de octubre del 1989, será el último. Representa el número 174 desde nuestro primer número de septiembre

del 1973. La Octava Convención de la Liga Socialista Revolucionaria tendrá lugar en Chicago durante la fin de semana de Thanksgiving antes de la conferencia fundadora del periódico anarquista la cual tendrá lugar en la misma fecha. La convención discutirá y votará sobre una moción que propone que se desbände la LSR y que recomienda a los miembros y apoyadores que participen individualmente en el proyecto del periódico anarquista.

En una forma limitada, vamos a discutir también las razones para las cuales hemos evolucionado hasta ser anarquistas, socialistas libertarios y antiautoritarios. Aunque en la Séptima Convención de la LSR, en el 1986, discutimos una crítica del leninismo y nuestra creciente afinidad con el pensamiento anarquista, la próxima convención será la primera desde que la organización rechazó oficialmente el leninismo y un número significativo de nosotros cesaron de considerarnos como marxistas. Aquellos de nosotros que nos identificamos más apretadamente con el movimiento anarquista, incluyendo yo, van a argüir que el dar apoyo fuerte al proyecto del periódico es la manera más efectiva para asegurar que lo que ha sido el mejor de los valores y visiones fundamentales de la LSR continúe como una fuerza en la arena política.

Espero que todos los suscriptores y lectores regulares del *Torch/La Antorcha* vayan a leer y apoyar el periódico nuevo. Suscriptores del *Torch/La Antorcha* recibirán el primer número del nuevo periódico que espero que vaya a sacarse temprano en el 1990, para que puedan decidir por sí mismos. Los otros que quieran asegurar que reciban el periódico nuevo puedan escribirme al: Box 1288, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

LA **ANTORCHA**

¡Número Final!

Informe Sobre el Proyecto del Periódico @anarquist@

DOS DOCUMENTOS SOBRE LA RESISTENCIA EN CUBA

MOVIMIENTO ZAPATA

El Agro-Sindicalismo en Cuba

EN 1982 SALIERON de Cuba, de manera simultánea, noticias confusas acerca de síntomas de rebeldía en el seno de las masas trabajadoras, fundamentalmente campesinas. Un conato de huelga en el central Abraham Lincoln y la detención de una veintena de activistas de un movimiento agrario: el Grupo Zapata. Se les acusaba de haber realizado varios sabotajes, y se habló incluso, del intento de crear una organización sindical independiente al estilo de Solidaridad en Polonia.

Cinco hombres fueron condenados a muerte, y una mujer, Caridad Pavón (La Gallega), líder feminista del grupo, no pudo sobrevivir a las torturas en Villa Marista (lugar habilitado por el Departamento de Seguridad del Estado, G-2, para realizar interrogatorios); su misteriosa muerte fue calificada por las autoridades descaradamente de "suicidio."

Una fuerte campaña internacional salva de la muerte por fusilamiento a los cinco activistas, quienes sin embargo, fueron mantenidos en estrecha incomunicación durante varios años, y aún hoy, permanece en el prisión Combinado del Este, en la provincia de La Habana, Angel Donato Martínez, uno de los líderes anarco-sindicalistas del movimiento agrario Zapata.

Retomando el legado ideológico del Magonismo-Zapatismo, fue inspirado

este movimiento agro-sindicalista, autogestionario, con los objetivos de reivindicar a la clase obrero-campesina por medio de la toma de la tierra y de la maquinaria, expropiando al Estado (único patrón y propietario monopolista de toda la tierra y de todos los medios de producción bajo el capitalismo de Estado). Consecuentemente a sus ideales, estos activistas agro-sindicalistas intentaban realizar contactos con grupos similares en América Latina y otras partes del mundo, con los mismos fines: la demo-

cracia directa de los trabajadores.

La corta vida del movimiento (en la calle, porque aún se mantiene vivo tras los muros de la prisión) no le permitió desarrollarse hasta alcanzar — lo que ellos denominan — un movimiento de masas auténticamente revolucionario. No se materializaron los contactos, no se internacionalizó la lucha, pero sí quedó plasmado en el proceso histórico cubano, una vez más, la necesidad de una verdadera Revolución dentro de la llamada Revolución. Este planteamiento, que tan frecuentemente nos llega procedente de la juventud en la isla (quienes día a día intensifican más la lucha revo-

EN el llamado Estado Proletario de Cuba se condena y se fusila solamente por sospechas de intentos de formación de sindicatos independientes. Hacemos esta denuncia no para que se apiaden de la suerte que corremos. No creemos en la suerte, y por el contrario creemos firmemente en la Humanidad y en el deber ineludible con la clase internacionalmente explotada: *La Clase Obrera*.

Esta denuncia no es solamente la condena a un Estado fascista envilecido

Estos artículos aparecieron en @ Mayor, publicado por el ABC Latinoamericana y La Liga Socialista Libertaria Latinoamericana

(valga la redundancia) y a un tirano sanguinario, sino también intenta ser un despertar para tantas y tantas conciencias dormidas que aún no se han comprometido con la causa de los explotados.

lucionaria para sacudirse a los burgueses de la nueva clase dominante) los atemoriza, ya que esto significa el fin de los privilegios de la elite burguesa que en nombre de la clase trabajadora se les ha encaramado sobre sus espaldas, mediante una brutal maquinaria represiva que no escatima en sentenciar, encarcelar o fusilar a todo aquel que disienta de ella.

CUBA —

¿Estado Proletario?

La persecución, la encarcelación, y los asesinatos han sido el destino de los activistas sindicales y el de toda la clase obrera en general desde los comienzos del proletariado en Cuba hasta nuestros días. La sentencia a muerte por orden del Tribunal Popular en abril de mil novecientos ochenta y tres de los jóvenes (de 19 a 26 años) obreros: Carlos García Díaz, Angel Donato Martínez, José Luis Díaz Romero, Ezequiel Díaz Rodríguez y Benito García Oliveira es una prueba fehaciente del ensañamiento del Estado totalitario castrista contra la clase obrera, además nos demuestra como el sistema actúa para confundir y desinformar a todo aquel que se interesa en los atropellos contra los trabajadores en la isla. Esto cinco jóvenes condenados a la pena máxima por fusilamiento, acusados de sabotaje industrial e intento de formación de un sindicato independiente, se encuentran cumpliendo largas condenas después de haberse filtrado la información al exterior, siéndoles conmutada la pena de muerte. Sus esposas también enfrentaron condenas por asociación, encubrimiento y confabulación. Carida Pavón, alias "la Gallega" líder feminista del mismo grupo sindicalista conocido como MOVIMIENTO ZAPATA (por su prédica zapatista-magonista de la verdadera revolución agrario),

(Continúa en la página 8)

A HORA, YO SUPONGO que mi evaluación general del leninismo está bastante claro. Aunque creo que el leninismo no es totalmente, 100% autoritario, es decir, creo que tiene tendencias verdaderamente libertarias y democráticas, creo que estas tendencias son mucho menos importantes que esos que se dirigen a y implican el capitalismo de estado. Aun más, estas últimas son tan fuertes que distorsionan las tendencias democráticas en vez de meramente tener más influencia que ellas. Por ejemplo, el abogar una sociedad sin clases y sin estado se vuelve en lo contrario por la concepción de Lenin de cómo acontecerlo: por construir un estado fuerte y centralizado como el sistema de correo de Alemania.

Aunque la mayoría de esta serie se enfocó sobre los elementos de capitalismo de estado en el leninismo, probablemente vale la pena resumir mis opiniones de ellos. Yo creo que entre las varias tendencias dentro del leninismo que implican el capitalismo de estado, las más importantes son tres:

Primero es el hecho de que aunque el leninismo aboga el establecimiento de una sociedad sin estado, no solo propone usar el estado por acontecer esta meta, ve esto como el método principal de acontecer esta. Ni lo menos, aunque se dice que este estado es será un estado proletario, un dictadura del proletariado, estará organizado, con excepciones menores, según principios jerárquicas y burocráticas, es decir, principios capitalistas. Dado esto, ¿es algo sorprendente que el resultado de la Revolución Bolchevique en el 1917 no fuera sociedades sin clases y sin estado, sino sistemas sociales monstruosos, divididos por clases y dominados por estados?

La segunda tendencia de tipo capitalista de estado dentro del leninismo que creo es decisiva es su abogar de los métodos coercitivos y bárbaros. Aunque algún tipo de fuerza/coerción es inevitable en casi alguna revolución, parece que Lenin casi la celebra: la necesidad de ser "despiadado hacia nuestros enemigos," de "no retirarse de medidas las más despiadadas," el "tirar y tirar y tirar algo más." Desde que la moralidad existe dentro de, es inmanente en, la historia, es decir que la moralidad encuentra su fruición en el resultado (como Marx, siguiendo a Hegel, arguye), no hay la necesidad de actuar en una manera moral, no hay moralidad, en la esfera de la política. Pero fuera de la metafísica del marxismo/hegelianismo (o algún otra metafísica comparable), ¿cómo puede un neutralismo moral resultar en una sociedad moral? No lo puede y no lo hacer.

La tercera tendencia de tipo capitalista de estado dentro del leninismo, y la que unifica todas las tres, es la creencia de Lenin en el determinismo y el conocimiento absoluto. La realidad física y social/histórica es absolutamente determinada, el marxismo representa el conocimiento absoluto de esta realidad (se acerca más y más esta realidad), el partido/facción bolchevique tiene la única interpretación correcta del marxismo—estes son principios fundamentales del pensamiento bolchevique. Y apuntan directamente hacia el establecimiento de un dictadura del partido sobre el proletariado en el nombre del proletariado mismo. Si solamente los bolcheviques entienden el marxismo, entonces solamente ellos tienen la verdadera conciencia proletaria y socialista; ellos son los representantes espirituales del proletariado. Cuando el proletariado no está de acuerdo con el Partido Bolchevique, se ha puesto bajo la influencia de clases no



Un

Examen

del

Leninismo

Conclusión

proletarias; ya no es el verdadero proletariado. Con esta idea firmemente planteada en su mente, la supresión de todos los partidos opositores por los bolcheviques fue casi inevitable.

Este último factor parece más importante cuando se da cuenta que esta actitud, esta creencia que ellos y solamente ellos representan al proletariado—la historia, la moralidad y la verdad—fue algo fundamental en la mentalidad de los bolcheviques. Creó una cultura psicológica y moral—un fanatismo despiadado pro partido—que sumergió toda cosa y eliminó todo el contenido de aun los aspectos formalmente democráticos de la teoría bolchevique. Era de esta cultura que emergió un hombre como Stalin, y por razón de esta cultura que el Partido Bolchevique no podía pararlo. Aunque Stalin es del pasado, la posibilidad de nuevo Stalines ya existe porque la cultura intelectual/moral del leninismo se queda lo que siempre ha sido.

Los bolcheviques y el frente unido

Estas tres tendencias (con las otras discutidas en los artículos previos), explican lo que yo creo es el problema fundamental de la estrategia y las tácticas que perseguían los bolcheviques después de la Revolución de Octubre. Este fue un fallo de mantener, un fallo de aun *ensayar* de mantener, lo que yo describo como el carácter de frente unido de la Revolución Rusa.

La Revolución Rusa, incluyendo la Revolución de Febrero y la de Octubre, tenía un carácter de un frente unido. Por esta expresión yo significo que como toda revolución popular, la Revolución Rusa fue el resultado de movimientos más o menos distintos de distintas clases, grupos y organizaciones políticas los cuales se juntaron para derrotar un régimen y orden oprimidos. Las clases principales fueron los trabajadores y los campesinos. Muchas nacionalidades distintas, por ejemplo, ucranios, rusos

blancos, fineses, georgianos, etc., etc., lucharon por la libertad del dominio de los rusos grandes. Se involucraron varias organizaciones políticas.

Aunque esto fue obviamente la verdad en cuanto a la Revolución de Febrero, fue lo que pasó en la Revolución de Octubre ("Bolchevique") también. Aunque los trabajadores llevaron a cabo la revolución en las ciudades, los campesinos, fortaleciendo un levantamiento que se ha empezado en el verano, llevaron a cabo una insurrección en el campo, echando al los terratenientes, quemando sus estancias y asiendo la tierra. (La importancia de este aspecto de la lucha no siempre se ha reconocido.)

La revolución también ocasionó la continuación de la rebelión de las nacionalidades oprimidas. Y las fuerzas políticas organizadas que dirigieron la revolución, en la manera que fue dirigida, involucraron no solo el Partido Bolchevique, sino que el ala izquierdista del Partido de los Revolucionarios Sociales (los RSes de la Izquierda), y varias otras organizaciones socialistas y anarquistas.

Aunque no es claro si las fuerzas revolucionarias podían mantenerse, dado el aislamiento de la revolución, la pobreza del país, etc., la clave de su sobrevivencia, me parece ahora, fue el mantener del carácter de la revolución como un frente unido, es decir, su carácter de ser una coalición de clases, nacionalidades y organizaciones distintas. Esto habría requerido arreglar ciertas reglas para la actividad política en los soviets, consejos de los obreros, y otras organizaciones de masa. Más importante, habría necesitado un compromiso por los partidos políticos mayores, especialmente los bolcheviques, que no tratan de eliminar o suprimir las otras organizaciones.

Desafortunadamente, los bolcheviques no persiguieron tal política. No trataron aun de perseguir esta. De casi el comienzo, los bolcheviques trataron de concentrar lo más poder político como posible en las manos. Aunque mantuvieron el frente unido formal con los RSes de la Izquierda por siete o ocho

meses, me parece que esperaron que fallaría esta alianza en algún punto y hicieron poco esfuerzo para mantenerla.

Las relaciones de los bolcheviques con los campesinos

La primera disputa mayor entre los bolcheviques y los RSes de la Izquierda fue sobre el firmar de un tratado de paz con los alemanes y los austríacos en el invierno del 1918. En los debates políticos sobre el firmar del tratado dentro del Partido Bolchevique (el partido casi fraccionó sobre el asunto), ni Lenin ni alguna otra persona dió mucha consideración a la cuestión de qué sería el impacto de afirmar el tratado sobre los RSes de la Izquierda. De hecho, en las oraciones y escritos de Lenin sobre la cuestión, él virtualmente asume que los RSes de la Izquierda son de poca importancia y que la alianza entre ellos y los bolcheviques va a quebrantarse en un pequeño rato.

Los RSes de la Izquierda fueron bastante sectarios, sin embargo, y desde que la cuestión entera de firmar el tratado es



compleja, cómo actuaron los Bolcheviques en cuanto a este asunto no dice mucho. Pero mucho más se puede decir sobre cómo relacionaron los Bolcheviques a los campesinos durante la fin de la primavera y el comienzo del verano del 1918.

Como lo notamos arriba, la Revolución de Octubre fue el resultado de una lucha de dos lados, llevada a cabo por los trabajadores (acerca de tres millones), por un lado, y los campesinos (mu-

(Continúa en la página 6)

Periódico Anarquista

(Continúa de la página 1)

amiento de los "paracaidistas" ha aparecido en varias ciudades. La defensa de los derechos reproductivos ha atraído a más mujeres y hombres a las calles que cualquier otro movimiento desde la era del Vietnam.

Estos levantamientos es posible que empujen a varias gentes a que se vean a sí mismos como revolucionarios. No hay ninguna ley en la historia que prevenga lo que pasa al movimiento de los 60 a que se repita otra vez. Miles de activistas sinceros dedicados a la emancipación de la gente y del planeta juntaron a una variedad de grupos revolucionarios autoritarios desde el Weather Underground hasta el Partido Comunista Revolucionario hasta un sinnúmero de sectas trotskistas. Para prevenir que este tipo de tragedia se repita, el movimiento anarquista tiene que hacerse algo creíble como una fuerza revolucionaria. No es suficiente el aparecer con una crítica de los métodos de la izquierda autoritaria. Necesitamos construir una alternativa auténticamente revolucionaria y antiautoritaria. Tenemos que animar tendencias antiautoritarias dentro de los diversos movimientos sociales. Tenemos que superar el aislamiento mortal de muchos grupos anarquistas e individuos. Tenemos que conectarnos los unos a los otros en formas que le dan fuerza a nuestra actividad política, formas que conducen a un entendimiento y apoyo de nuestros principios antiautoritarios cuando trabajamos en movimientos que son hostiles. Necesitamos organizarnos.

Obstáculos para la autoorganización

El construir un grupo anarquista local puede ser muy difícil. Ello requiere la superación de muchos hábitos. Ello significa el aprender a confiar en los otros, el ser concientes de la seguridad pero al mismo tiempo no convertirse en una élite. Ello quiere decir luchas prolongadas sobre el proceso interno que representa autocrítica serio para superar hábitos de supremacía masculina, privilegios de clase y de nacionalidad. Es aun más difícil el construir una red de anarquistas que se extiende por todo el continente. Nunca hay suficiente tiempo para conocerse los unos a los otros en la forma en que el nivel de confianza lo demanda. Sin embargo es un proceso necesario. Esto es necesario si es que vamos a permanecer sanos e informados, si es que vamos a evitar el ser manipulados por grupos mejor organizados, si es que vamos a sobrevivir una represión política seria. Es necesario porque la revolución no va a ser mañana y porque la gente que quiere hacer revolución necesita un lugar para reunirse y celebrar las victorias, para planear acciones en el futuro y para recuperarse de las derrotas.

El construir una red efectiva de anarquistas que pueda coordinar acciones, que pueda llevar a cabo discusiones políticas y que pueda agitar por anarquía no será posible de la noche a la mañana. Las experiencias previas con federaciones de anarquistas en Norteamérica debería enseñarnos una cosa muy importante: el no atraer a todo aquel que está de acuerdo con alguna declaración programática de anarquismo y luego le pone el nombre de "federación." Muchas veces la gente con quien parece que nosotros tenemos más de acuerdo en teoría resultan ser los más difíciles con quien trabajar. Y gente con quien parece que tenemos grandes diferencias resultan te-

ner distintos significados para las palabras que objetamos y se convierten en nuestros camaradas más cercanos. La unidad teórica puede ser muy importante, pero también tiene que ser basada en unidad en la práctica si es que va a ser más que una serie de consignas vacías. El proceso de construir una red anarquista es el proceso de construir esa unidad práctica.

Hay muchas formas en las cuales podemos construir unidad política. El lugar más importante es comunmente en la calle. Los Días de Acción en las reuniones anarquistas y contingentes anarquistas en manifestaciones amplias ponen un número de interrogantes importantes prácticas para el movimiento. La coordinación de acciones alrededor de asuntos particulares en varias ciudades construiría un nivel aun más elevado de unidad práctica. Pero acciones en la calle no constituyen el movimiento en su totalidad. Algunos de nosotros estamos



organizando activamente en los lugares de trabajo, vecindades y entre comunidades en particular. Y las oportunidades para acciones coordinadas a nivel continental suceden únicamente unas cuantas veces al año, y aun entonces muchos de nosotros no somos capaces de participar en una acción particular. Lo que necesitamos no es únicamente algo que vincule acciones coordinadas a nivel continental, sino que también algo importante en las luchas locales. Lo que necesitamos es algo que nos permita el compartir experiencias cuando todavía están frescas, aun cuando no nos podemos reunir. Lo que necesitamos es algo que recuerde a un anarquista local aislado que ella no está solo, que ella es parte de un movimiento a nivel mundial. Necesitamos algo que le podamos dar a alguien nuevo que les haga real a ellos un rango amplio de actividad anarquista.

La cuestión sobre el periódico

Un periódico anarquista mensual es un paso esencial próximo en la construcción de un movimiento revolucionario efectivo y antiautoritario en Norteamérica. El movimiento anarquista se encuentra en una encrucijada. Hemos crecido hasta el punto en el cual se espera que miles de gentes atiendan a las reuniones anarquistas, sin embargo no hay absolutamente nada de estructura con la cual la gente se pueda conectar para aprender más, para ser activos. Tal estructura no puede ser erigida de la noche a la mañana y que todavía pueda servir al movimiento. Es necesario que se tome un acercamiento de paso a paso, para preguntar "¿qué proyecto, qué actividad práctica nos llevará más cerca del tipo de movimiento que queremos ser que pueda luchar seriamente por una revolución anarquista?" Un periódico mensual anarquista continental nos trae un paso más cercano en muchos niveles.

El primer nivel es comunicación. Casi todos estamos de acuerdo en que el mo-

vimiento anarquista puede hacer uso de mejor comunicación. En su mayoría, no estamos concientes de lo que está pasando fuera de nuestras áreas particulares al menos que nos subscribamos a las publicaciones locales de varios otros grupos anarquistas. Estos parecen irregularmente y son incapaces de proveer relatos de los eventos o anuncios de acciones venideras, asambleas o reuniones. En orden a que sea posible el anunciar algo al movimiento continental acerca de lo que está sucediendo en nuestra comunidad tú tendrías que enviar un artículo a varias docenas de periódicos y revistas. Un periódico mensual que pueda alcanzar a anarquistas y a aquellos interesados en anarquismo en Norteamérica mejoraría dramáticamente la comunicación entre grupos de anarquistas e individuos.

El segundo nivel es unidad en acción. Al reportar regularmente sobre eventos en diferentes comunidades un periódico puede profundizar nuestro entendimiento de los unos a los otros. Esto siembra una fundación para trabajar juntos en proyectos comunes. Muy a menudo la gente que se podría beneficiar trabajando junta no sabe suficiente de los demás para comunicarse. El periódico puede ayudar en la organización de eventos o acciones coordinados que tienen que ver con grupos e individuos a lo largo del continente. Finalmente, el proceso de coleccionar materiales para el periódico, distribuir el periódico, juntar dinero y el hacer decisiones colectivas editoriales le dará a la gente inmiscuida en el proyecto un cuerpo muy fuerte de preocupaciones comunes. En todas estas formas el periódico puede construir una unidad en acción que es la fundación esencial para cualquier esfuerzo organizativo en el futuro.

El tercer nivel es autoorganización. El movimiento anarquista enrostra un número de opciones muy claras. El organizarnos a nosotros mismos o dejarnos ser organizados por otros. La experiencia de No Business as Usual no se debería repetir. Los anarquistas no pueden permitir que la izquierda autoritaria determine su agenda o que nos usen como arena de reclutamiento. El crecimiento del movimiento anarquista ha capturado la atención de un gran número de grupos de la izquierda autoritaria los cuales están mejor preparados para pasarles sus ideas a la gente que nosotros. El proceso de desarrollar un periódico mensual anarquista ayudará considerablemente a la autoorganización del movimiento y nos hará menos sujetos a las manipulaciones. El periódico puede ser una semilla para germinar nuevos gru-

pos usar el periódico como una forma de atraer unas cuantas personas de mente similar. Un grupo pequeño que no puede publicar su propio material puede usar el periódico. La creación de un consejo editorial que es delegado y que es responsable a varios grupos locales y no locales nos provee con la experiencia de crear una organización controlada de los files.

El cuarto nivel es la teoría. El movimiento anarquista contiene un rango amplio de ideas conflictivas. Hay un número de foros para el debate de varias posiciones teóricas dentro del movimiento. Para un número significativo de personas el movimiento anarquista es simplemente una sociedad de debate. El debate es una buena cosa, pero gran cantidad del debate que domina a nuestras discusiones está totalmente desconectada de todas las cuestiones prácticas que afectan al movimiento ahora. Hay muy poquita discusión sobre el porqué el movimiento es tan blanco y qué se puede hacer acerca de ello. Prácticamente no hay debate sobre tácticas en la calle y esfuerzos organizativos de comunidad. Un periódico mensual puede ofrecer reportes a tiempo sobre acciones de anarquistas existentes. Estas pueden convertirse en la base de discusiones prácticas. ¿Qué lecciones deberíamos haber aprendido del Día de Acción de Toronto, el Tompkins Square Park Riot, the Black Rebellions en Florida, the Pittston Wildcats? Un periódico mensual anarquista puede hacer de todos estos tópicos interesantes de debate. Aun más, ellos serían tópicos comunes de debate. Los anarquistas en todo el continente sabrán lo que tú quieres decir cuando se habla de la "acción del Pentágono."

Tal periódico será una herramienta muy vital para la organización local de anarquistas. Ello nos podría dar un acceso rico a acciones y eventos de tal manera que nuestras discusiones políticas serían sobre las cuestiones prácticas por las cuales están pasando los anarquistas en los distintos movimientos en los cuales ellos se encuentran activos. Sus cartas al editor serían un foro para un debate interesante. Podría tener varias noticias de anarquistas y antiautoritarios desde Bolivia hasta Berlín hasta Beijing hasta Berkeley. La creación de tal periódico sería el proyecto continental fundamental de los revolucionarios anarquistas que quieren ver a los anarquistas como una fuerza organizativa válida durante los levantamientos de los años 90.

Un periódico mensual anarquista continental no debería tener la intención



de reemplazar las publicaciones anarquistas vibrantes locales. Ello debería ser una actividad de una red de grupos e individuos los cuales han decidido conscientemente que tal esfuerzo es un uso importante de sus energías. Para algunas personas ello significaría el doblar sus publicaciones existentes en algo que es más largo y que se acomoda mejor a sus necesidades. Para otros ello querrá decir el continuar sus esfuerzos locales de publicación y al mismo tiempo el contribuir a un esfuerzo más amplio. Aun otros decidirán únicamente el cambiar publicaciones y encontrar sus trabajos replicados en el periódico continental. Un periódico mensual no debería atentar el ser el periódico del movimiento anarquista (como si tal concepto tuviera sentido). Se debería reconocer honestamente que refleja la política de la red de personas que lo publican. Ya hay un número de periódicos anarquistas que salen más o menos cada tres meses. El periódico mensual no tendría como objeto el reemplazar estos esfuerzos. Por lo contrario, ello debería hacer lo que tales publicaciones no pueden hacer. Debería reportar los eventos a tiempo y debería ayudar a planear los eventos y acciones venideras. Debería contribuir a formar un ambiente de diálogo más profundo de lo que es corrientemente (con un cambio de opiniones simple lo cual toma más de seis meses en las revistas trimestrales).

Una mirada a la organización del contingente anarquista del bloqueo del Pentágono de octubre nos permite ver cómo un periódico mensual anarquista pudo haber hecho tal esfuerzo mucho más efectivo. El planeamiento de la acción por CISPE y Pledge of Resistance comenzó en mayo. Un periódico mensual pudo haber anunciado tales planes y pudo haber sugerido juntamente con la participación de anarquistas de las manifestaciones en contra de la invasión de EU de Honduras. En el momento de la asamblea anarquista de Toronto, miles de anarquistas habrían estado pensando acerca de la acción y cómo un contingente anarquista pudo haberse fortalecido. Durante la asamblea de Toronto entonces, contingentes más amplias pudieron haberse establecido. Durante las manifestaciones en las convenciones republicana y democrática el periódico mensual pudo haber publicado la acción venidera del Pentágono juntamente con los relatos de los militantes de la DOA en la asamblea de Toronto. Similarmente, el periódico pudo publicar los contingentes de las manifestaciones, las conferencias de los estudiantes y los conciertos de los punks en agosto y septiembre. Una edición de octubre pudo haber incluido información útil acerca de la acción (mapas, conocimiento táctico, etc.) así como artículos dirigidos a la explicación de la acción del contingente del resto de la manifestación. Cuando nuestras acciones se convirtieron en el tópico de debate por seis meses en el *Guardian* nosotros pudimos haber influido la dirección de ese debate al publicar nuestra propia evaluación de la acción. El *Guardian* publicó un par de cartas de los anarquistas pero no publicó las otras. La acción del Pentágono fue el tópico de debate más grande de la izquierda por medio año, en gran parte debido al resultado de nuestras acciones. Sin embargo, nosotros tuvimos muy poco impacto en la discusión que continuó. Bastantes activistas de Centroamérica pudieron haber estado muy interesados en leer nuestros relatos si hubiéramos tenido un foro el cual publicarlos. Es imposible el predecir en que forma una voz más fuerte anarquista en este debate pudo haber afectado las acciones de abril sobre El Salvador.

Es imposible el decir en una historia similar como un periódico mensual pudo haber afectado otras luchas. La violencia de los nazi skinheads y la respuesta antirracista es uno de los ejemplos más obvios. Es imposible el predecir en que forma un periódico mensual ayudará al avance de nuevas cuestiones. Lo que debería ser claro es que un periódico mensual puede levantar drásticamente la visibilidad del movimiento anarquista y atraer a mucha gente nueva que corrien-



temente ni siquiera se dan cuenta que existe un movimiento anarquista. Ello cambiará la apariencia de nuestro movimiento. Aquellos que están contentos con sus posiciones de grandes pescados en sus pequeños lagunas de anarquistas no se beneficiarán de este periódico.

Un periódico mensual sería una herramienta para construir grupos locales donde no existen todavía. Al reportar un



rango amplio de diferentes acciones, el periódico hará que nuevas tácticas parezcan ser posibles a gentes que corrientemente se sienten atrapadas por protestas "coreografiadas" las cuales nosotros vemos con desdén. Un periódico será esencial en la construcción de una red que pueda responder en alguna forma coordinada a un levantamiento social en el continente.

Interrogantes que confrontan al proyecto del periódico

La creación de un periódico mensual anarquista significará una gran cantidad de trabajo por muchas gentes. Desde el principio debe ser un proceso colectivo. Por el momento estamos tratando de reunir a aquellos grupos e individuos que ven la importancia del periódico. Este proceso va a ser difícil. Habrán diferencias políticas significantes dentro de la red. Ello dependerá de nosotros el en-

contrar los puntos de unidad política que nosotros podemos considerar como esenciales y los debates que tendrán que ser continuados.

Para que el periódico pueda tener éxito, se requerirá apoyo económico amplio. No deberíamos equivocarnos y creer que el periódico será autosuficiente en el próximo futuro. Grupos fuertes en varias ciudades tendrán que prepararse para proveer apoyo continuo de cientos de dólares todos los meses. Bastantes personas tendrán que hacer plegarias de \$20 al mes. Es muy importante que el apoyo económico sea organizado de una forma justa. Pero la dedicación a este proyecto variará de grupo a grupo. Así pues, tenemos que hacer posible varios niveles de apoyo y participación.

La organización del proyecto del periódico será crucial. La participación de grupos de varias ciudades en un proyecto continuo requerirá un proceso democrático que implique responsabilidad. Hay como mínimo nueve grupos que tienen que ser contados en la organización de este proyecto.

1. La red. Ampliamente definida como alguien que apoya el proyecto, suscribiéndose al periódico, escribiendo para el periódico, vendiéndolo o haciendo algo más para mantener el proyecto.

2. Grupos locales. Estos incluirán RABL (Minneapolis), MayDay (Chicago), Circle A (Atlanta), Borderlands (San Diego) y otros. Estos grupos serán pilares mayores para el periódico. El periódico dependerá grandemente de ellos y tendrá que servir sus necesidades locales con considerable atención.

3. Redes de eventos. Anarquistas Black Cross y Neither East Nor West son ejemplos de redes de activistas que tendrán un interés general en el periódico

pero no son necesariamente relacionadas con las condiciones locales. Secciones del periódico pueden ser separadas para estas redes todos los meses.

4. Organizaciones nacionales y continentales. Hasta el momento la única organización que ha caído en esta categoría ha sido la Liga Socialista Revolucionaria, la cual en el momento intenta el disolverse. Las oficinas locales pueda que se unan en grupos anarquistas existentes (en Nueva York y en Chicago) o que se conviertan en grupos anarquistas mismos (en L.A. y en Detroit). Quizás la decisión de Workers Solidarity Alliance de apoyar este proyecto abre nuevamente esta categoría, aunque ellos han dicho que intentan a participar como individuos.

5. Apoyo económico. Habrán individuos que contribuirán substancialmente al periódico que les gustaría saber que su dinero no está siendo malgastado.

6. Consejo editorial. Algún grupo de gente tendrá que ser delegado para que

se reúna más frecuentemente que toda la red para tratar con los problemas más presionantes. Esto puede incluir delegados de algunos o de todos los grupos mencionados antes.

7. Escritores, fotgrafistas e ilustradores.

8. El colectivo de producción. El grupo de gente de la tipografía, de la disposición y que envía el periódico por correo. Más probablemente compuesto de gentes ya que están activos donde el periódico será localizado. También podría incluir a gentes que se trasladen de donde viven actualmente a donde el periódico instalará.

9. Personal. Con paga o sin paga. Aquellas gentes (o personas) seleccionadas por la red del consejo editorial que aseguren de que todo esto tenga lugar y que se encarguen de los problemas cuando algo salga mal. Quizás de fuera de la ciudad o quizás no.

Estas no son categorías artificiales. Cada uno de estos grupos se relacionará al proyecto de periódico en una forma distinta. Cualquier estructura formal que sea la que adoptemos pueda o no pueda que tome en consideración toda distinción. Lo que es importante es que nosotros logremos apreciar la complejidad de hacer el periódico responsable a aquellos que lo apoyan en sus varias formas.

La decisión de apoyar el proyecto del periódico seriamente es una decisión muy grande. Ello incluye el deseo de confiar en otros anarquistas, gentes que no son conocidos, con la presunción de que las ideas y la actividad que se tienen en común justifican la confianza. Es también una decisión que implica que el anarquismo es algo real. Para mucha gente el movimiento anarquista es una bolsa de arena, un grupo pequeño predecible. La decisión de construir un movimiento fuerte al crear un periódico es un deseo de salirse de la bolsa de arena, de ser serios y determinados. Ello quiere decir una zancada de grandes proporciones: que estas ideas de anarquía y de revolución son importantes para el resto del mundo y que algunas personas allá las van a oír. Es una zancada de fe, que estamos en el inicio de un cambio dramático, de cambios sociales que harán que un gran número de gentes se hagan revolucionarios.

Un movimiento grande y fuerte anarquista tendrá como consecuencia un montón de cambios. Un montón de nosotros tendremos que dedicar aun más energías para que se mantengan las cosas. Encontraremos represión más seria. Y ya que nuestras acciones implicarán las vidas reales de más gentes, los desacuerdos serán menos académicos y más emocionales. Pero al mismo tiempo querrá decir una comunidad más profunda de apoyo. Una cultura más vibrante de resistencia. Y por supuesto, la posibilidad real de hacer una revolución anarquista.

Tenemos una opción. Podemos continuar como un grupo pequeño, aislado y feliz o podemos convertirnos en un movimiento de masa de lucha. Aquellos que elijan la segunda ruta, serán al principio una minoridad, aquellos que arriesguen el dar lo poquito que tenemos por la oportunidad de crear mucho más. Pero después de todo, la segunda ruta es la única con un futuro.





Un Examen del Leninismo

(Continúa de la página 3)

chos millones), por el otro. Los bolcheviques trataron de cimentar esta alianza inmediatamente después de la Revolución de Octubre por decretar que la tierra perteneció a los campesinos. (De hecho no tenían la posibilidad de no hacer esto. Los campesinos mismos habían asido la tierra y los bolcheviques no tenían casi nungunas organizaciones o base de apoyo en el campo.)

Me parece que la única garantía posible para que hubiera dejado sobrevivir la revolución fue la del mantener la alianza entre los obreros y los campesinos. Pero, desde junio del 1918, los bolcheviques, bajo el pretexto del "llevar la revolución al campo," lanzaron un ataque amplio en contra de los campesinos. Motivado por la creencia de que los culacos (los campesinos más ricos que tenían bastante recursos para alquilar a otros campesinos como obreros), fueron guardando grano fuera de las ciudades amenazadas por el hambre, los bolcheviques dirigieron grupos armados de trabajadores a los pueblos para asir el grano que se dicho fueron guardando los campesinos. Los bolcheviques también creyeron de que habían una capa sustancial de campesinos pobres (campesinos que no tenían bastante tierra y que, por esta razón, tenían que trabajar para los culacos), quienes apoyarían la política de los bolcheviques. Pero de hecho, después del asir la tierra en la fin del 1917, casi todos los campesinos fueron los llamados campesinos medios (campesinos que tenían bastante tierra para mantenerse pero no fueron bastante ricos para alquilar ayuda extra). No habían casi ningunos culacos o campesinos pobres.

La política de los bolcheviques, como pasó, no fue el "llevar la lucha de clase al campo," pero un asalto total en la vasta mayoría de los campesinos y el quebrantar la alianza entre los obreros en las ciudades y los campesinos en el campo. Fue esta táctica que finalmente quebrantó la alianza de los bolcheviques con los RSes de la Izquierda y que dió a las fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias (en este momento casi derrotadas) una base macisa de apoyo.

'Error' venía de la política básica

El resultado fue una guerra civil sangrienta que duró por más de dos y medio años, casi destruyó la economía rusa, y devastó el campo. Cuando eventualmente conquistaron los bolcheviques (los campesinos les prefirieron, porque le dejaron guardar la tierra, más de los contrarrevolucionarios blancos quienes, cuando conquistaron una región, se la quitaron), le despiadaron todos.

Algunas veces se ha argumentado que los bolcheviques no tenían la posibilidad de hacer algo diferente que asir el grano porque la gente en las ciudades sufrían del hambre y no tenían nada para vender a los campesinos en cambio por el grano. Pero la respuesta a esto es que en el 1921, después de la guerra civil, después de que se destruyó el país, cuando las ciudades tenían aun menos que ofrecer a los campesinos en cambio para el grano,

los bolcheviques adoptaron la Política Económica Nueva (PEN) que dejó a los campesinos el derecho de vender y comprar libremente el grano, después de que hubieran pagado un "impuesto de productos" al estado. Si se hubiera perseguido esta política en el 1918, ¡mucho si no la mayoría de la destrucción de la guerra civil se habría evitado! Las fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias les habría faltado una base de apoyo.

En mi opinión, lo que hicieron los bolcheviques no fue solamente un error. Resultó lógicamente de la punta de vista y la política de los bolcheviques, especialmente las tendencias hacia el capitalismo de estado mencionadas arriba. La meta principal de los bolcheviques después de la Revolución de Octubre no fue la de mantener el carácter como un frente unido de la revolución. Su interés central fue el de consolidar lo más poder posible en las manos y de mantenerlo por cualesquier métodos necesarios, no importa si tal métodos debilitaran el carácter democrático popular de la revolución misma.

Desde que, en su punta de vista, la clase obrera es la única clase firmemente revolucionaria, desde que solo los bolcheviques, con la única interpretación verdadera del marxismo, representan la clase obrera, desde que la meta política principal es el asir y el mantener el poder estatal, y desde que métodos bárbaros no solo se permiten sino que se prefieren, los bolcheviques, después de la Revolución de Octubre, subordinaron todo otro interés a uno—el de mantener su poder sobre el estado.

Yo solía de creer que la razón principal que hicieron lo que hicieron los bolcheviques fue el resultado de factores objetivos, especialmente la pobreza del país, el hecho de que no habían revoluciones obreras exitosas en los países más desarrollados económicamente, etc. Ahora yo creo que si habían tal revoluciones, el resultado, por lo menos en Rusia, no habría sido diferente de lo que fue. No se habrían destruido el país y quizás el régimen de los bolcheviques habría sido más benigno. Pero ya habrían gobernado Rusia los bolcheviques y el sistema social que habrían establecido sería capitalismo de estado, no un socialismo libertario. Esto es porque la política fundamental de los bolcheviques, especialmente el foco de utilizar el estado y su creencia que ellos poseían conocimiento absoluto de la historia, la sociedad y la política, fue de tipo de capitalismo de estado.

Nuestros valores no han cambiado

Es una cosa de analizar y criticar el leninismo, sin embargo, y otra cosa de desarrollar nuevas ideas políticas, algunas que evitan las tendencias regresivas del pasado. Esta nueva tarea que enfrenta la Liga Socialista Revolucionaria se hace un poco más posible si reconocemos una característica fundamental de la historia y la evolución de nuestra organización. Esto es el hecho de que aunque ha evolucionado nuestro programa, las valores

fundamentales que nuestro programa ha querido representar se han quedado las mismas, o mejor dicho, han evolucionado más lentamente. Al riesgo de decirlo simplistamente, ya yo creo, y espero que crea la LSR, que el capitalismo mundial es un sistema injusto y peligroso que necesita ser derribado, y solamente puede ser derribado, por una revolución internacional llevada a cabo por la vasta mayoría de gente obrera y oprimida. La meta de esta revolución es de establecer un sistema social democrático y igualitario, una sociedad directamente y democráticamente gobernada por los miembros de las viejas clases oprimidas, que ha eliminado las grandes diferencias de riqueza de los previos sistemas sociales y en la cual se han eliminado el estado y las otras instituciones autoritarias.

Antes de los años recientes, yo creía que la interpretación, la teoría y la práctica del marxismo que Lenin desarrolló representaron una encarnación de esta ideal que fue leal a esta ideal y también representó una media práctica de acontecirla. No vi el leninismo como perfecto, pero dado las alternativas como yo las entendía, pareció que ofreció la mejor fundación sobre la cual de elaborar un programa consistente.

Esta elaboración es la que trataron de hacer la LSR durante los 15 años pasados. En breve, tratamos de desarrollar una interpretación del leninismo (nunca aceptamos la interpretación de alguna otra tendencia) que representó nuestras ideales fundamentales y que también se quedó dentro de los límites formales del leninismo.

Poniendo demasiado énfasis en el Lenin 'democrático'

No creo que esto fue totalmente un error, totalmente inconsistente o ridículo. Es fácil de mirar atrás después que uno ha experimentado algo y decir que todo lo que solíamos de creer fue tonto. Pero manera de pensar ignora el proceso de aprender que nos ha ayudado de traspasar las ideas más tempranas.

Dado nuestros orígenes (en el sentido de que emergimos del movimiento estudiantil de los 60), y el hecho que no había ninguna tendencia libertaria organizada significativa (o de tipo socialista democrático o anarquista/antiautoritario), nuestra orientación y evolución políticas tenían mucho sentido. Y nuestra programa fue, yo creo, el mejor disponible. Quizás si habíamos sido genios políticos habríamos sido capaces de crear un programa totalmente nuevo que fuera mucho más avanzado de la materia política con la cual teníamos que trabajar. Pero casi ningún conjunto de ideas evolucionó en esta manera; aun los logros intelectuales más importantes se sintetizan de corrientes de ideas previas.

Con la ventaja de percepción retrospectiva, pienso que nuestro error teórico

central fue el de ver el leninismo como más democrático revolucionario que fue. Tendíamos de poner más énfasis en los elementos en el punto de vista y la práctica de Lenin que se dirigen en una dirección democrática y de ablandar o ignorar los elementos autoritarios.

Por ejemplo, damos más énfasis a *El Estado y La Revolución* que le hicieron los bolcheviques mismos. También tendíamos de ignorar o ablandar los aspectos de la obra que fueron autoritarios.

Aunque esto fue una interpretación falsa del leninismo, no fue totalmente sin mérito, de hablar metológicamente. Diciendo esto otra vez, dado nuestras experiencias y las alternativas aparentes que nos se presentaban, el ensayar de "encorvar" la estructura de nuestro programa formal para acomodar un instinto libertario que estaba poniéndose más consistente es lógico, aun prudente. Eventualmente, sin embargo, se deben resolver las contradicciones que se han puesto más aparentes. Uno tiene que hacer algunas decisiones "grandes." Esto es como yo pienso que debemos evaluar nuestra evolución política.

Si se ve la historia de la LSR en esta manera, pienso que ciertas conclusiones se presenten: Uno, la manera de procedernos no es de echar toda cosa y tratar de desarrollar un programa totalmente nuevo. Hay muchas cosas que hemos creído por mucho tiempo y que ya yo creo hasta hoy día.

Continuadad en nuestra evolución

Como lo mencioné en otra forma, pienso que el capitalismo no es un sistema muy justo o viable. Pienso que no puede reformarse. Pienso que la humanidad necesita y debe tratar de establecer un sistema social verdaderamente igualitario, cooperativo y democrático.

Si pasamos un rato pensando las implicaciones y ramificaciones de estas pocas frases, pienso que nos daremos cuenta cuánto de nuestro programa previo de hecho retenemos. Ciertamente yo los describiría en una manera diferente que los hemos descrito en el pasado y yo nos colocaría diferentemente en las tradiciones políticas históricas. Pero si lo buscamos, pienso que podemos identificar una gran cantidad de continuidad en nuestro pensamiento y evolución políticos. Yo, hablando personalmente, no estoy listo de ponerme socialista cristiano o pacifista, aunque yo creo que hay cosas que podemos aprender de esta gente y que deberíamos estar listos de militar con gente en estas corrientes.

El segundo punto el cual pienso que debamos tener en la mente como nos definimos de nuevo es de no movernos a la derecha políticamente. Ahorita, el clima político en el EU y en el mundo en general es conservador, aunque esto está empezando de cambiar.

(Una de las razones para este clima



conservador es que las radicalizaciones previas se basaron en varias ideologías, como las varias formas del leninismo, que fueron de hecho autoritarias, y por eso esencialmente conservadoras. Las radicalizaciones crearon la base para su misma destrucción.)

En tal período, una tendencia como la nuestra, especialmente cuando busca de definirse de nuevo, viene bajo fuerte pero frecuentemente invisible presión de moverse a la derecha. Esta presión derechista puede afectar una organización en varias maneras. Desde que en períodos como éste ideas radicales y revolucionarias en general no son comunes, hay mucha presión para abandonar visiones máximas, utópicas, y de abogar reformas mínimas. Desde que pocas personas hoy día creen que una sociedad global democrática y sin clases es posible, frecuentemente parece más fácil de tener acuerdo con otra gente sobre la necesidad de algunos cambios "realísticos." En breve, en épocas como esta hay mucha presión para hacerse reformista, de ablandar la oposición revolucionaria al capitalismo (y el capitalismo de estado). Pienso que debarnos resistir esto.

Dado la crisis de la SIDA, también hay una presión fuerte de hacerse más conservador acerca de cuestiones del sexo/género y asuntos relacionados los cuales se perciben como de "derechos civiles."

Finalmente, dado la tranquilidad política de la clase obrera, especialmente las capas más pobres de los grupos especialmente oprimidos (Latinos, Negros, mujeres, gays, los con impedimentos físicos), es fácil de ser influenciado por las manías (usualmente egoísticas), de la clase media (las imbecilidades de la "Época Nueva," la obsesión con la salud personal, el asalto contra los fumadores). A pesar de lo que personas piensan o cómo quieren vivir sus vidas, debemos resistir que estos asuntos cambien nuestro foco fuera de la fuente básica de los injustos sociales, el capitalismo, y de la lucha por derribarlo.

Necesitamos desarrollar una visión de la libertad

El método principal de resistir la presión hasta el derecho, en mi opinión, es el de mudar la organización hacia la izquierda. Esto es consistente también con nuestra evaluación nueva del leninismo. En mi parecer, el problema esencial en el leninismo no es que es demasiado radical, demasiado revolucionario. Es que *no es bastante radical o revolucionaria*. Hace demasiadas concesiones al capitalismo, posee demasiados métodos capitalistas de pensar y actuar para ser una fuerza verdaderamente revolucionaria.

Por ejemplo, aunque el leninismo reclama que quiere abolir el estado eventualmente, quiere fortalecerlo más inmediatamente. Reclama que quiere construir una sociedad democrática y cooperativa, pero enfatiza métodos autoritarios y coercivos.

Más importante, aunque reclama que quiere establecer una sociedad verdaderamente libre, cree que su ideología, su interpretación del marxismo, represente la única interpretación correcta de la historia (y todo lo demás), y por eso rechaza la fundación última de la libertad, el derecho de pensar y creer de una manera diferente—la libertad intelectual y espiritual.

Pienso que la manera de proceder en definirnó políticamente de nuevo tenga dos aspectos. Primero, debemos desarrollar una visión de la libertad, desarrollar una concepción posible de cómo parecería una sociedad verdaderamente igualitaria, cooperativa y democrática

(incluyendo soluciones alternativas de varios problemas).

De hecho, hemos hecho esto a través de nuestra historia (nuestras ideas sobre la cuestión de la liberación sexual), aunque no hemos reconocido lo que esto quería decir. Más recientemente, hemos desarrollado más concientemente nuestra visión de una sociedad libertaria. Debemos de continuar desarrollar nuestras ideas en esta cuestión y de diseminarlas en varias maneras.

La libertad y antideterminismo

Esta elaboración de una visión de una sociedad libre es definidamente anti-marxista. En oposición a los llamados Socialistas Utópicos, Marx y Engels rehusaron de elaborar una visión de la sociedad del futuro. Esto primariamente fue porqué, en su parecer, la sociedad del futuro emergerá de la lucha de clases: esta sociedad es inmanente en la historia, en el idioma filosófico. Esta idea fue vinculada apretadamente con la creencia de Marx y Engels que la historia es determinada y que el establecimiento del socialismo es "necesario históricamente," en el sentido de ser ineludable. Si lo es, ¿por qué elaborar una visión?

Hoy día, no creo esto. No creo que la historia es determinada y aun si es, no creo que podemos saber lo que va a pasar. En otras palabras, no creo que existe conocimiento absoluto. Aun más, si la historia es determinada y el socialismo es ineludible, el resultado no sería la libertad, porque la inevitabilidad, la necesidad histórica, no resultan en la libertad sino en la esclavitud a lo que es necesario históricamente. Una sociedad libre se puede ser posible solamente si hay la posibilidad de escoger, si que la humanidad tiene la posibilidad de ser libre en vez de ser esclavizada o aniquilada.

La conclusión de todo esto, me parece, es que los socialistas que creen en el socialismo libertario tienen que creer en la libertad, tienen que creer que hay elección en la historia, que la historia no es determinada o "necesaria." Socialismo solo puede establecerse si la mayoría decide que quiere tal sociedad y empieza de construirla concientemente y democráticamente. La tarea de socialistas, por eso, es de tratar de convencer a que trabajadores y otra gente oprimida deban luchar por establecer el socialismo libertario. Es esencial en esto desarrollar una visión de tal sociedad que demuestre, lo más concretamente como posible, cómo puede gobernarse esta sociedad, y cómo puede solucionarse varios problemas que el capitalismo nos ha quedado.

La segunda tarea en definirnó de nuevo es de pensar sobre nuestros estrategia, tácticas, principios organizativos y métodos y de modificarlos para que sean consistentes con nuestra visión. En mi opinión, el cambio principal en nuestra concepción anterior es en la táctica del frente unido. Para leninistas, el frente unido, y la táctica relacionada del apoyo crítico, tienen el propósito de ganar la base popular de una otra organización competidora y de desacreditar y destruir a su liderazgo. En otras palabras, es una política de tratar de asesinar a otra gente. En algunos casos, por ejemplo, en ello de burócratas reformis-



tas, esto es correcto. Pero los bolcheviques creyeron que solamente ellos representaron los intereses verdaderos de los obreros y entonces cualquiera otra organización competidora, no importa qué revolucionaria, fue últimamente un agente de la burguesía.

Hoy, desde que no creemos en la verdad absoluta y que solamente nosotros tenemos el camino a esta, debemos considerar el frente unido como un método de militar con otras organizaciones y otros individuos, de establecer un diálogo con ellos, y de tratar de aprender de ellos. Quizás aprenderemos más de ellos que ellos aprenderán de nosotros.

Ultimamente, y una conclusión de lo que acabo de decir, debemos buscar otros organizaciones, grupos e individuos que tengan nuestra visión (definida relativamente amplia), y tratar de desarrollar relaciones continuas con ellos, tratando de crear más unidad teórica y práctica durante un período del tiempo. Quizás esto requerirá cambios sustanciales en la forma de nuestra organización.

Personalmente, yo creo que vayamos a encontrar la mayoría de tales grupos e individuos en el medio anarquista/libertario en vez de los medios marxista o social democrática. Los últimos tienen de-



masiado estatismo en su ideología, la creencia en la progresividad inherente de la propiedad nacionalizada y la planificación estatal y otras ideas que implican el capitalismo de estado.

Una regla fundamental de nuestro método debe ser que nuestro trabajo político, teórico y práctico, debe evitar a determinarse por las categorías abstractas. Porque algunos grupos o personas se definen en una manera distinta de nosotros o usan una terminología distinta no debe ser una razón por rechazar entrarnos en un diálogo o trabajo junto con ellos.

O, decir esto en una manera opuesta, solamente porque gente se define en los mismos términos como nosotros no quiere decir que ellos son de acuerdo con nosotros. Categorías intelectuales, especialmente categorías políticas, pueden ser desconcertantes y intelectualmente restrictivas. Por muchos años, nos consideramos como trotskistas (marxista le-

ninistas), pero no estábamos de acuerdo con los valores fundamentales, de no hablar de las cosas menos importantes, de los grupos que se llamaban como trotskistas. Esta debe ser una lección para nosotros.

No es una 'vuelta,' sino una continuación

En la luz de esto, no pienso que lo que he sido proponiendo es una "vuelta" drástica o reorientación de nuestro programa. Lo veo como casi una continuación de nuestra búsqueda política que ha caracterizado nuestra existencia desde el principio. Esta búsqueda—una búsqueda a un camino hacia la libertad—nos ha llevado a través de varias fronteras de categorías políticas tradicionales. La búsqueda ha sido consistente y, de hecho, más o menos en la misma dirección. Solamente no se ha dejado determinarse, o por lo menos no por mucho tiempo, por las categorías de otra gente.

Alguna vez, fuéramos marxistas y leninistas, pero no trotskistas. Por algún tiempo fuéramos trotskistas quienes pensaron que Trotsky fue incorrect, insuficientemente libertario, acerca de Rusia. Ahora, en mi opinión hemos pasado la línea que demarca el trotskismo y el leninismo en algo distinto, algo que tenemos que definir. Debemos dejar a otra gente que se quede imprisionada por su categorías y continuar de determinar, de ser, nuestras mismas.

Yo pienso que la cosa fundamental que ha cambiado, la cosa central que hemos aprendido, es que no son conocimiento absoluto. Antes, buscamos algún sistema, alguna ideología, que nos daría soluciones para todas las cuestiones. Ahora sabemos que esto no existe y que los sistemas e ideologías que reclaman a representar el conocimiento absoluto, que solucionan todas las cuestiones, son inherentemente peligrosas.

Hoy día, sabemos que la verdad (relativa, que cambia), solamente puede encontrarse por medio de un diálogo, una discusión entre distintos grupos e individuos. La humanidad solamente puede solucionar sus problemas si puede discutirlos, hablar acerca de ellos, y llegar a decisiones democráticas. Lenin, siguiendo a Marx (quien le siguió a Hegel), perdió el diálogo en la dialéctica de la historia (que eventualmente llega al socialismo) y un conocimiento absoluto de la historia, marxismo.

Aunque Lenin fue subjetivamente en pro de la libertad, ayudó a apagarla, porque creyó que la verdad histórica fue encarnada en el partido bolchevique. Tenemos que reconocer que solamente una dialéctica que nunca cesa, un diálogo entre seres humanos, puede dirigirnos a la libertad.

